





RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
PEOPLE CALLED **QUAKERS;**

ALSO

SANDY FOUNDATION SHAKEN,

AND

INNOCENCY WITH HER OPEN FACE.

BY WILLIAM PENN,

WITH HIS

LETTER TO HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN.

PHILADELPHIA:
T. ELLWOOD CHAPMAN,
No. 1 SOUTH FIFTH STREET,
1855.

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RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

BY WILLIAM PENN.

AS UNKNOWN, AND YET WELL KNOWN.—2 Cor. vi.

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TO THE READER.

THIS following account of the people called Quakers, &c. was written in the fear and love of God: *first*, as a standing testimony to that ever blessed truth, in the inward parts, with which God, in my youthful time, visited my soul, and for the sense and love of which I was made willing, in no ordinary way, to relinquish the honours and interests of the world. *Secondly*, as a testimony for that despised people, that God has in his great mercy gathered and united by his own blessed Spirit in the holy profession of it; whose fellowship I value above all worldly greatness. *Thirdly*, in love and honour to the memory of that worthy servant of God, George Fox, the first instrument thereof, and therefore styled by me, The great and blessed apostle of our day. As this gave birth to what is here presented to thy view, in the first edition of it, by way of preface to George Fox's excellent journal; so the consideration of the present usefulness of the following account of the people called Quakers, (by reason of the unjust reflections of some adversaries

that once walked under the profession of friends) and the exhortations that conclude it, prevailed with me to consent that it should be republished in a smaller volume; knowing also full well, that great books, especially in these days, grow burdensome, both to the pockets and minds of too many; and that there are not a few that desire (so it be at an easy rate) to be informed about this people, that have been so much every where spoken against: but, blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is upon no worse grounds than it was said of old time of the primitive Christians; as I hope will appear to every sober and considerate reader. Our business, after all the ill usage we have met with, being the realities of religion, an effectual change before our last and great change; that all may come to an inward, sensible and experimental knowledge of God, through the convictions and operations of the light and spirit of Christ in themselves, the sufficient and blessed means given to all, that thereby all may come savingly to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, to enlighten and redeem the world: which knowledge is indeed eternal life. And that thou, reader, mayst obtain it, is the earnest desire of him that is ever

Thine in so good a work,

WILLIAM PENN.

RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

DIVERS have been the dispensations of God since the creation of the world unto the sons of men; but the great end of them all has been the renown of his own excellent name in the creation and restoration of man—man, the emblem of himself, as a God on earth, and the glory of all his works. The world began with innocency: all was then good that the good God had made: and as he blessed the works of his hands, so their natures and harmony magnified him their Creator. Then the morning stars sang together for joy, and all parts of his works said Amen to his law: not a jar in the whole frame; but man in paradise, the beasts in the field, the fowls in the air, the fish in the sea, the lights in the heavens, the fruits of the earth; yea, the air, the earth, the water and fire worshipped, praised, and

exalted his power, wisdom and goodness! O holy sabbath! O holy day to the Lord!

But this happy state lasted not long: for man, the crown and glory of the whole, being tempted to aspire above his place, unhappily yielded against command and duty, as well as interest and felicity; and so fell below it, lost the divine image, the wisdom, power, and purity he was made in. By which, being no longer fit for paradise, he was expelled that garden of God, his proper dwelling and residence, and was driven out, as a poor vagabond, from the presence of the Lord, to wander in the earth, the habitation of beasts.

Yet God who made him had pity on him; for He, seeing man was deceived, and that it was not of malice, or an original presumption in him, but through the subtilty of the serpent, (that had first fallen from his own estate,) and by the mediation of the woman, man's own nature and companion, (whom the serpent had first deluded,) in his infinite goodness and wisdom provided a way to repair the breach, recover the loss, and restore fallen man again by a nobler and more excellent Adam, promised to be born of a woman; that as, by means of a woman the evil one had prevailed upon man, by a woman also He should come into the world, who would prevail against him, and bruise his head, and deliver man from his power: and which, in a signal

manner, by the dispensation of the Son of God in the flesh, in the fulness of time, was personally and fully accomplished by him, and in him, as man's Saviour and Redeemer.

But his power was not limited, in the manifestation of it, to that time; for both before and since his blessed manifestation in the flesh, He has been the light and life, the rock and strength of all that ever feared God; was present with them in their temptations, followed them in their travels and afflictions, and supported and carried them through and over the difficulties that have attended them in their earthly pilgrimage. By this, Abel's heart excelled Cain's, Seth obtained the pre-eminence, and Enoch walked with God. It was this that strove with the old world, and which they rebelled against, and which sanctified and instructed Noah to salvation.

But the outward dispensation that followed the benighted state of man after his fall, especially among the patriarchs, was generally that of angels, as the Scriptures of the Old Testament do in many places express, as to Abraham, Jacob, &c. The next was that of the law by Moses, which was also delivered by angels, as the apostle tells us. This dispensation was much outward, and suited to a low and servile state; called therefore by the Apostle Paul that of a schoolmaster, to point out and prepare that people

to look and long for the Messiah, who would deliver them from the servitude of a ceremonious and imperfect dispensation, by knowing the realities of those mysterious representations in themselves. In this time the law was written on stone, the temple built with hands, attended with an outward priesthood and external rites and ceremonies, that were shadows of the good things that were to come, and were only to serve till the Seed came, or the more excellent and general manifestation of Christ, to whom was the promise, and to all men only in Him, in whom it was Yea and Amen, even life from death, immortality and eternal life.

This the prophets foresaw, and comforted the believing Jews in the certainty of it; which was the top of the Mosaical dispensation, which ended in John's ministry, the forerunner of the Messiah, as John's was finished in Him, the fulness of all. And God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, had spoken to the fathers by his servants the prophets, spoke then by his Son Christ Jesus, who is heir of all things; being the gospel day, which is the dispensation of sonship; bringing in thereby a nearer testament and a better hope; even the beginning of the glory of the latter days, and of the restitution of all things; yea, the restoration of the kingdom unto Israel.

Now the Spirit, that was more sparingly commu-

nicated in former dispensations, began to be poured forth upon all flesh, according to the prophet Joel; and the light that shined in darkness, or but dimly before, the most gracious God caused to shine out of darkness, and the day-star began to arise in the hearts of believers, giving unto them the knowledge of God in the face (or appearance) of his Son Christ Jesus.

Now the poor in spirit, the meek, the true mourners, the hungry and thirsty after righteousness, the peacemakers, the pure in heart, the merciful, and the persecuted, came more especially in remembrance before the Lord, and were sought out and blessed by Israel's true Shepherd. Old Jerusalem with her children grew out of date, and the new Jerusalem into request, the mother of the sons of the gospel day. Wherefore no more at old Jerusalem, nor at the mountain of Samaria, will God be worshipped above other places; for, behold, he is, by his own Son, declared and preached a Spirit, and that He will be known as such, and worshipped in the Spirit and in the Truth. He will now come nearer than of old time, and He will write his law in the heart, and put his fear and Spirit in the inward parts, according to his promise. Then signs, types, and shadows flew away, the day having discovered their insufficiency in not reaching to the inside of the cup, to the cleansing of the conscience;

and all elementary services were expired in and by Him who is the substance of all.

And to this great and blessed end of the dispensation of the Son of God, did the apostles testify, whom he had chosen and anointed by his Spirit, to turn the Jews from their prejudice and superstition, and the Gentiles from their vanity and idolatry, to Christ's Light and Spirit that shined in them; that they might be quickened from the sins and trespasses in which they were dead, to serve the living God, in the newness of the Spirit of life, and walk as children of the light, and of the day, even the day of holiness: For such "put on Christ," the light of the world, "and make no more provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." So that the Light, Spirit, and Grace, that come by Christ, and appear in man, were that Divine Principle the apostles ministered from, and turned people's minds unto, and in which they gathered and built up the churches of Christ in their day. For which cause they advise them not to quench the Spirit, but wait for the Spirit, and speak by the Spirit, and pray by the Spirit, and walk in the Spirit too, as that which approved them the truly begotten children of God, born not of flesh and blood, or of the will of man, but of the will of God, by doing his will and denying their own, by drinking of Christ's cup, and being baptized with his baptism of self-denial; the

way and path that all the heirs of life have trod to blessedness. But alas! even in the apostles' days,—those bright stars of the first magnitude of the gospel light—some clouds, foretelling an eclipse of this primitive glory, began to appear; and several of them gave early caution of it to the Christians of their time, that even then there was, and yet would be more and more, a falling away from the power of godliness, and the purity of that spiritual dispensation, by such as sought to make a fair show in the flesh, but with whom the offence of the cross ceased: yet with this comfortable conclusion, that they saw, beyond it, a more glorious time than ever to the true church. Their sight was true, and what they foretold to the churches, gathered by them in the name and power of Jesus, came so to pass: For Christians degenerated apace into outsides, as days, and meats, and divers other ceremonies. And, which was worse, they fell into strife and contention about them, separating one from another, then envying, and, as they had power, persecuting one another, to the shame and scandal of their common Christianity, and grievous stumbling and offence of the heathen, among whom the Lord had so long and so marvellously preserved them. And having got at last, the worldly power into their hands, by kings and emperors embracing the Christian profession, they changed, what they could,

the kingdom of Christ, which is not of this world, into a worldly kingdom; or at least styled the worldly kingdom, that was in their hands, the kingdom of Christ, and so they became worldly, and not true Christians. Then human inventions and novelties, both in doctrine and worship, crowded fast into the church; a door being opened thereunto, by the grossness and carnality that appeared then among the generality of Christians, who had long since left the guidance of God's meek and heavenly Spirit, and given themselves up to superstition, will-worship, and voluntary humility; and as superstition is blind, so it is heady and furious; for all must stoop to its blind and boundless zeal, or perish by it; in the name of the Spirit, persecuting the very appearance of the Spirit of God in others, and opposing that in them which they resisted in themselves, viz., The Light, Grace, and Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ; but always under the notion of innovation, heresy, schism, or some such plausible name. Though Christianity allows of no name or pretence whatever for persecuting any man for matters of mere religion; religion being in its very nature meek, gentle and forbearing, and consisting of faith, hope, and charity, which no persecutor can have, whilst he remains a persecutor; in that a man cannot believe well, or hope well, or have a charitable or tender regard to another, whilst he would

violate his mind, or persecute his body, for matters of faith or worship towards his God.

Thus the false church sprang up, and mounted the chair. But though she lost her nature, she would keep her good name of the Lamb's bride, the true church and mother of the faithful; constraining all to receive her mark, either in their forehead or right hand; that is, publicly or privately. But indeed and in truth she was mystery, Babylon, the mother of harlots, mother of those that with all their show and outside of religion, were adulterated and gone from the Spirit, nature and life of Christ, and grown vain, worldly, ambitious, covetous, cruel, &c., which are the fruits of the flesh, and not of the Spirit.

Now it was that the true church fled into the wilderness, that is, from superstition and violence, to a retired, solitary, and lonely state; hidden, and, as it were, out of sight of men, though not out of the world: which shows that her wonted visibility was not essential to the being of a true church in the judgment of the Holy Ghost; she being as true a church in the wilderness, though not as visible and lustrous, as when she was in her former splendour of profession. In this state many attempts she made to return; but the waters were yet too high, and her way blocked up, and many of her excellent children, in several nations and centuries,

fell by the cruelty of superstition, because they would not fall from their faithfulness to the truth.

The last age did set some steps towards it, both as to doctrine, worship, and practice. But practice quickly failed; for wickedness flowed in a little time, as well among the professors of the Reformation, as those they reformed from; so that by the fruits of conversation they were not to be distinguished. And the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themselves, betook themselves very early to earthly policy and power, to uphold and carry on their reformation that had been begun with spiritual weapons; which, I have often thought, has been one of the greatest reasons the Reformation made no better progress as to the life and soul of religion. For whilst the reformers were lowly and spiritually minded, and trusted in God, and looked to him, and lived in his fear, and consulted not with flesh and blood, nor sought deliverance in their own way, there were daily added to the church such, as one might reasonably say, should be saved; for they were not so careful to be safe from persecution, as to be faithful and inoffensive under it; being more concerned, to spread the truth by their faith and patience in tribulation, than to get the worldly power out of their hands that inflicted those sufferings upon them; and it will be well if the Lord suffer them not to fall, by the very same way they took to stand.

In doctrine they were in some things short; in other things, to avoid one extreme, they ran into another; and for worship, there was, for the generality, more of man in it than of God. They owned the Spirit, Inspiration and Revelation, indeed, and grounded their separation and reformation upon the sense and understanding they received from it, in the reading of the Scriptures of truth. And this was their plea, the Scripture was the text, the Spirit the interpreter, and that to every one for himself. But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition and art, that remained both in praying and preaching; and of worldly authority and worldly greatness in their ministers; especially in this kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. God was therefore pleased among us, to shift from vessel to vessel; and the next remove humbled the ministry, so that they were more strict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the Lord's day, and catechising children and servants, and repeating at home in their families what they had heard in public.

But even as these grew into power, they were not only for whipping some out, but others into the temple; and they appeared rigid in their spirits, rather than severe in their lives, and more for a party than for piety, which brought forth another people, that were yet more retired and select.

These would not communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed churches among themselves of such as could give some account of their conversion, at least of very promising experiences of the work of God's grace upon their hearts; and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowship, they kept together. These people were somewhat of a softer temper, and seemed to recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy and goodness, rather than by the terror of its judgments and punishments; by which the former party would have terrified people into religion.

They also allowed greater liberty to prophesy than those before them; for they admitted any member to speak or pray, as well as their pastor, (whom they always chose, and not the civil magistrate,) if such found anything pressing upon them to either duty, even without the distinction of clergy or laity—persons of any trade, be it never so low and mechanical. But alas! even these people suffered great loss; for tasting of worldly empire, and the favour of princes, and the gain that ensued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down national churches and ministry, and maintenance too, some of them, when it was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of worldly honour and advantage, got into profitable parsonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own principles; and, which was yet worse, turned some

of them absolute persecutors of other men for God's sake, who but so lately came themselves out of the furnace ; which drove many a step farther, and that was into the water—another baptism—as believing they were not scripturally baptized ; and hoping to find that presence and power of God, in submitting to this watery ordinance, which they desired and wanted.

These people made also profession of neglecting, if not renouncing and censuring, not only the necessity, but use of all human learning, as to the ministry, and all other qualifications to it, besides the helps and gifts of the Spirit of God, and those natural and common to men ; and for a time they seemed, like John of old, a burning and a shining light to other societies.

They were very diligent, plain and serious ; strong in Scripture and bold in profession ; bearing much reproach and contradiction. But that which others fell by, proved their hurt. For worldly power spoiled them too ; who had enough of it to try them what they would do if they had more ; and they rested also too much upon their watery dispensation instead of passing on more fully to that of the fire and Holy Ghost, which was His baptism, who came with a fan in his hand, that he might thoroughly (and not in part only) purge his floor, and take away the dross and the tin of his people, and make a man finer than gold. Withal they grew high,

rough and self-righteous, opposing further attainment; too much forgetting the day of their infancy and littleness, which gave them something of a real beauty; insomuch that many left them, and all visible churches and societies, and wandered up and down, as sheep without a shepherd, and as doves without their mates; seeking their beloved, but could not find him (as their souls desired to know Him) whom their souls loved above their chiefest joy.

These people were called Seekers by some, and the Family of Love by others; because, as they came to the knowledge of one another, they sometimes met together, not formally to pray or preach at appointed times or places, in their own wills, as in times past they were accustomed to do, but waited together in silence; and as any thing rose in any one of their minds that they thought savoured of a divine spring, so they sometimes spoke. But so it was, that some of them not keeping in humility, and in the fear of God, after the abundance of revelation, were exalted above measure; and for want of staying their minds in an humble dependence upon Him that opened their understandings to see great things in his law, they ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with those divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God and waited

daily in the temple not made with hands, for the consolation of Israel, the Jew inward, and circumcision in Spirit.

This people obtained the name of Ranters, from their extravagant discourses and practices. For they interpreted Christ's fulfilling of the law for us to be a discharging of us from any obligation and duty the law required, instead of the condemnation of the law for sins past, upon faith and repentance; and that now it was no sin to do that which before it was a sin to commit; the slavish fear of the law being taken off by Christ, and all things good that man did, if he did but do them with the mind and persuasion that it was so. Insomuch that divers fell into gross and enormous practices; pretending, in excuse thereof, that they could, without evil, commit the same act which was sin in another to do; thereby distinguishing between the action and the evil of it, by the direction of the mind and intention in the doing of it; which was to make sin superabound by the aboundings of grace, and to turn from the grace of God into wantonness—a securer way of sinning than before; as if Christ came not to save us from our sins, but in our sins; not to take away sin, but that we might sin more freely at his cost, and with less danger to ourselves. I say, this ensnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss as to their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to the

better sort of people, and furnished the looser with an occasion to profane.

It was about that time, that the eternal, wise, and good God was pleased in his infinite love, to honour and visit this benighted and bewildered nation with his glorious day-spring from on high; yea, with a most sure and certain sound of the word of light and life, through the testimony of a chosen vessel, to an effectual and blessed purpose, can many thousands say; glory be to the name of the Lord forever!

For as it reached the conscience and broke the heart, and brought many to a sense and search, so that which people had been vainly seeking *without*, with much pains and cost, they, by this ministry, found *within*, where it was they wanted what they sought for, viz., the right way to peace with God. For they were directed to the light of Jesus Christ within them as the seed and leaven of the kingdom of God; near all, because in all, and God's talent to all—a faithful and true witness, and just monitor in every bosom—the gift and grace of God, to life and salvation, that appears to all, though few regard it. This the traditional Christian, conceited of himself, and strong in his own will and righteousness, and overcome with blind zeal and passion, either despised as a low and common thing, or opposed as a novelty, under many hard names, and opprobrious

terms; denying, in his ignorant and angry mind, any fresh manifestations of God's power and Spirit in man in these days, though never more needed to make true Christians. Not unlike those Jews of old, who rejected the Son of God, at the very same time that they blindly professed to wait for the Messiah to come; because, alas! he appeared not among them according to their carnal mind and expectation.

This brought forth many abusive books, which filled the greater sort with envy, and the lesser with rage; and made the way and progress of this blessed testimony straight and narrow indeed to those that received it. However, God owned his own work, and this testimony did effectually reach, gather, comfort, and establish the weary and heavy laden, the hungry and thirsty, the poor and needy, the mournful and sick of many maladies, that had spent all upon physicians of no value, and waited for relief from heaven, help only from above: seeing, upon a serious trial of all things, nothing else would do but Christ himself, the light of his countenance, a touch of his garment, and help from his hand, who cured the poor woman's issue, raised the centurion's servant, the widow's son, the ruler's daughter, and Peter's mother. And like her, they no sooner felt his power and efficacy upon their souls, but they gave up to obey him in a testimony to his power,

and with resigned wills and faithful hearts, through all mockings, contradictions, beatings, prisons, and many other jeopardies that attended them for his blessed name's sake.

And truly they were very many, and very great; so that in all human probability they must have been swallowed up quick of the proud and boisterous waves that swelled and beat against them; but that the God of all their tender mercies was with them in his glorious authority, so that the hills often fled, and the mountains melted away before the power that filled them; working mightily for them as well as in them, one ever following the other. By which they saw plainly, to their exceeding great confirmation and comfort, that all things were possible with him with whom they had to do; and that the more that which God required seemed to cross man's wisdom, and expose them to man's wrath, the more God appeared to help and to carry them through all to his glory;—insomuch, that if ever any people could say in truth, "Thou art our sun and our shield, our rock and sanctuary, and by thee we have leaped over a wall, and by thee we have run through a troop, and by thee we have put the armies of the aliens to flight," these people had a right to say it. And as God had delivered their souls from the wearisome burdens of sin and vanity, and enriched their poverty of spirit, and satisfied

their great hunger and thirst after eternal righteousness. and filled them with the good things of his own house, and made them stewards of his manifold gifts; so they went forth to all quarters of these nations, to declare to the inhabitants thereof what God had done for them; what they had found, and where and how they had found it, viz. the way to peace with God; inviting them to come, and see, and taste for themselves, the truth of what they declared unto them.

And as their testimony was to the principle of God in man, the precious pearl and leaven of the kingdom, as the only blessed means appointed of God to quicken, convince and sanctify man, so they opened to them what it was in itself, and what it was given to them for; how they might know it from their own spirit, and that of the subtle appearance of the evil one; and what it would do for all those whose minds are turned off from the vanity of the world, and its lifeless ways and teachers, and adhere to this blessed light in themselves, which discovers and condemns sin, in all its appearances, and show how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy manifestations and convictions; giving power to such to avoid and resist those things that do not please God, and to grow strong in love, faith and good works; that so man, whom sin hath made as a wilderness overrun with briers and thorns,

might become as the garden of God, cultivated by his divine power, and replenished with the most virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own right-hand planting, to his eternal praise.

But these experimental preachers of glad tidings of God's truth and kingdom, could not run when they list, or pray or preach when they pleased, but as Christ their Redeemer prepared and moved them by his own blessed Spirit, for which they waited in their services and meetings, and spoke as that gave them utterance; and which was as those having authority, and not like the dreaming, dry and formal Pharisees. And so it plainly appeared to the serious-minded, whose spiritual eye the Lord Jesus had in any measure opened; so that to one was given the word of exhortation, to another the word of reproof, to another the word of consolation, and all by the same Spirit and in the good order thereof to the convincing and edifying of many.

And truly they waxed strong and bold through faithfulness; and by the power and Spirit of the Lord Jesus became very fruitful; thousands, in a short time, being turned to the Truth in the inward parts through their testimony in ministry and sufferings; insomuch as in most counties, and many of the considerable towns of England, meetings were settled, and daily there were added such as should be saved. For they were diligent to plant

and to water, and the Lord blessed their labours with an exceeding great increase, notwithstanding all the opposition made to their blessed progress, by false rumours, calumnies and bitter persecutions; not only from the powers of the earth, but from every one that listed to injure and abuse them; so that they seemed indeed to be as poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as a people killed all the day long.

It were fitter for a volume than a preface, but so much as to repeat the contents of their cruel sufferings from professors as well as from profane, and from magistrates as well as the rabble: so that it may be said of this abused and despised people, they went forth weeping and sowed in tears, bearing testimony to the precious Seed, the Seed of the kingdom, which stands not in words, (the finest, the highest that man's wit can use,) but in power—the power of Christ Jesus, to whom God the Father hath given all power in heaven and in earth, that He might rule angels above, and men below; who empowered them, as their work witnesseth, by the many that were turned through their ministry from darkness to the light, and out of the broad into the narrow way of life and peace, bringing people to a weighty, serious and godlike conversation; the practice of that doctrine which they taught.

And, as without this secret divine power there is no quickening and regenerating of dead souls, so the want of this generating and begetting power and life,

is the cause of the little fruit that the many ministries, that have been and are in the world, bring forth. Oh! that both ministers and people were sensible of this. My soul is often troubled for them, and sorrow and mourning compass me about for their sakes. Oh! that they were wise. Oh! that they would consider, and lay to heart the things that truly and substantially make for their lasting peace.

Two things are to be considered; the doctrine they taught, and the example they led among all people. I have already touched upon their fundamental principle, which is as the corner-stone of their fabric; and indeed, to speak eminently and properly, their characteristic, or main distinguishing point or principle, viz., The Light of Christ within, as God's gift for man's salvation. This, I say, is as the root of the goodly tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I shall now mention in their natural and experimental order.

First, repentance from dead works to serve the living God; which comprehends three operations; first, a sight of sin; secondly, a sense and godly sorrow for it; thirdly, an amendment for the time to come. This was the repentance they preached and pressed, and a natural result from the principle they turned all people unto. For of light came sight; and of sight came sense and sorrow; and of sense and sorrow come amendment of life; which doctrine of repentance leads to justification, that is,

forgiveness of the sins that are past, through Christ the alone propitiation; and to the sanctification or purgation of the soul, from the defiling nature and habits of sin present, by the Spirit of Christ in the soul; which is justification in the complete sense of that word; comprehending both justification from the guilt of the sins that are past (as if they had never been committed) through the love and mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and the creature's being made inwardly just, through the cleansing and sanctifying power and Spirit of Christ revealed in the soul; which is commonly called sanctification. But that none can come to know Christ to be their sacrifice that reject him as their sanctifier. The end of his coming being to save his people from the nature of this defilement, as well as guilt of sin; and that, therefore, those that resist his Light and Spirit, make his coming and offering of none effect to them.

From hence sprang a second doctrine they were led to declare, as the mark of the prize of the high calling of all true Christians, viz. perfection from sin, according to the Scriptures of Truth; which testify it to be the end of Christ's coming, and the nature of His kingdom, and for which His Spirit was given: viz., to be perfect as our Heavenly Father is perfect, and holy because God is holy. And this the Apostle laboured for, that the Christian should be sanctified through in body, soul, and spirit. But they never held a perfection in wisdom and glory

in this life, or from natural infirmities, or death, as some have, with a weak or ill mind imagined and insinuated against them.

This they called a redeemed state, regeneration, or the new birth: teaching every where, according to their foundation, that without this work were known, there was no inheriting the kingdom of God.

Thirdly, this leads to an acknowledgment of eternal rewards and punishments, as they have good reason; for else, of all people, certainly they must be the most miserable, who, for above forty years have been exceeding great sufferers for their profession, and in some cases treated worse than the worst of men; yea, as the refuse and off-scouring of all things.

This was the purport of their doctrine and ministry; which, for the most part, is what other professors of Christianity pretend to hold in words and forms, but not in the power of godliness; which, generally speaking, has been long lost by men's departing from that Principle and Seed of life that is in man, and which man has not regarded, but lost the sense of; and in and by which only he can be quickened in his mind to serve the living God in newness of life. For as the life of religion was lost, and the generality lived and worshipped God after their own wills, and not after the will of God, nor the mind of Christ, which stood in the works and fruits of the Holy Spirit; so that which they pressed was not notion, but experience; not formality, but godliness; as being sensible in themselves, through the work of God's

righteous judgments, that without holiness no man shall ever see the Lord with comfort.

Besides these general doctrines, as the larger branches, there sprang forth several particular doctrines, that did exemplify and farther explain the truth and efficacy of the general doctrine before observed, in their lives and examples: as,

I. Communion and loving one another. This is a noted mark in the mouth of all sorts of people concerning them: They will meet, they will help and stick one to another. Whence it is common to hear some say: Look how the Quakers love and take care of one another. Others, less moderate, will say: The Quakers love none but themselves: and if loving one another, and having an intimate communion in religion, and constant care to meet to worship God, and help one another, be any mark of primitive Christianity, they had it, blessed be the Lord, in an ample manner.

II. To love enemies. This they both taught and practised. For they did not only refuse to be revenged for injuries done them, and condemned it as an unchristian spirit, but they did freely forgive, yea, help and relieve those that had been cruel to them, when it was in their power to have been even with them; of which many and singular instances might be given; endeavouring, through faith and patience, to overcome all injustice and oppression, and preaching this doctrine as Christian, for others to follow.

III. Another was the sufficiency of truth-speaking,

according to Christ's own form of sound words, of yea, yea, and nay, nay, among Christians, without swearing; both from Christ's express prohibition to swear at all, Mat. v., and for that they being under the tie and bond of truth in themselves, there was no necessity for an oath; and it would be a reproach to their Christian veracity to assure their truth by such an extraordinary way of speaking simple and uncompounded answers, as yea, and nay, (without assertion, attestation, or supernatural vouchers,) being most suitable to evangelical righteousness; but offering at the same time to be punished to the full, for false speaking, as others for perjury, if ever guilty of it. And hereby they exclude, with all true, all false and profane swearing; for which the land did and doth mourn, and the great God was, and is not a little offended with it.

IV. Not fighting, but suffering, is another testimony peculiar to this people. They affirm that Christianity teacheth people to beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks, and to learn war no more; that so the wolf may lie down by the lamb, and the lion with the calf, and nothing that destroys be entertained in the hearts of people; exhorting them to employ their zeal against sin, and turn their anger against Satan, and no longer war one against another; because all wars and fightings come of men's own heart's lusts, according to the apostle James, and not of the meek Spirit of Christ Jesus, who is cap-

tain of another warfare, which is carried on with other weapons. Thus, as truth-speaking, succeeded swearing, so faith and patience succeeded fighting, in the doctrine and practice of this people. Nor ought they for this to be obnoxious to civil government, since if they cannot fight for it, neither can they fight against it; which is no mean security to any state. Nor is it reasonable that people should be blamed for not doing more for others than they can do for themselves. And, Christianity set aside, if the costs and fruits of war were well considered, peace, with all its inconvenience, is generally preferable. But though they were not for fighting, they were for submitting to government; and that not only for fear, but for conscience sake, where government doth not interfere with conscience: believing it to be an ordinance of God, and, where it is justly administered, a great benefit to man: though it has been their lot, through blind zeal in some, and interest in others, to have felt the strokes of it with greater weight and rigour than any other persuasion in this age; whilst they, of all others, (religion set aside) have given the civil magistrate the least occasion of trouble in the discharge of his office.

V. Another part of the character of this people, was, and is, they refuse to pay tithes or maintenance to a national ministry; and that for two reasons: the one is, they believe all compelled main-

tenance, even to gospel ministers, to be unlawful, because expressly contrary to Christ's command, who said, "Freely you have received, freely give:" at least, that the maintenance of gospel ministers should be free, and not forced. The other reason of their refusal is, because those ministers are not gospel ones, in that the Holy Ghost is not their foundation, but human arts and parts. So that it is not matter of humour or sullenness, but pure conscience towards God, that they cannot help to support national ministries where they dwell, which are but too much and too visibly become ways of worldly advantage and preferment.

VI. Not to respect persons, was, and is another of their doctrines and practices, for which they were often buffeted and abused. They affirmed it to be sinful to give flattering titles, or to use vain gestures and compliments of respect. Though to virtue and authority they ever made a deference; but after their plain and homely manner, yet sincere and substantial way; well remembering the examples of Mordecai and Elihu, but more especially the command of their Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, who forbade his followers to call men Rabbi, which implies lord or master; also the fashionable greetings and salutations of those times; that so self-love and honour, to which the proud mind of man is incident in his fallen estate, might not be indulged, but rebuked. And though this rendered their conversation disagreeable, yet they that will

remember what Christ said to the Jews, how can you believe in me, who receive honour one of another, will abate of their resentment, if his Doctrine has any credit with them.

VII. They also used the plain language of *thee* and *thou* to a single person, whatever was his degree among men; and indeed, the wisdom of God was much seen, in bringing forth this people in so plain an appearance; for it was a close and distinguishing test upon the spirits of those they came among; showing their insides, and what predominated, notwithstanding their high and great profession of religion. This, among the rest, sounded so harsh to many of them, and they took it so ill, that they would say "Thou me, thou my dog! If thou thou'st me, I'll thou thy teeth down thy throat;" forgetting the language they use to God in their own prayers, and the common style of the Scriptures, and that it is an absolute and essential propriety of speech. And what good, alas! had their religion done them, who were so sensibly touched with indignation for the use of this plain, honest, and true speech.

VIII. They recommended silence by their example, having very few words upon all occasions. They were at a word in dealing; nor could their customers, with many words, tempt them from it, having more regard to truth than custom, to example than gain. They sought solitude; but when in company, they would neither use, nor willingly hear

unnecessary or unlawful discourses ; whereby they preserved their minds pure and undisturbed from unprofitable thoughts and diversions. Nor could they humour the custom of Good night, Good morrow, God speed; for they knew the night was good, and the day was good, without wishing of either; and that, in the other expression, the holy name of God was too lightly and unthinkingly used, and therefore taken in vain. Besides, they were words and wishes of course, and are usually as little meant as are love and service in the custom of cap and knee; and superfluity in those, as well as in other things, was burdensome to them; and therefore they did not only decline to use them, but found themselves often pressed to reprove the practice.

IX. For the same reason they forbore drinking to people, or pledging of them, as the manner of the world is; a practice that is not only unnecessary, but, they thought, evil in the tendencies of it, being a provocation to drink more than did people good, as well as that it was in itself vain and heathenish.

X. Their way of marriage is peculiar to them, and shows a distinguishing care above other societies professing Christianity. They say that marriage is an ordinance of God, and that God only can rightly join man and woman in marriage; therefore they use neither priest nor magistrate; but the man and woman concerned, take each other as husband and wife, in the presence of divers credible witnesses, promising to each other, with God's assistance, to

be loving and faithful in that relation, till death shall separate them. But antecedent to this, they first present themselves to the Monthly Meeting for the affairs of the church, where they reside; there declaring their intentions to take one another as husband and wife, if the said meeting have nothing material to object against it. They are constantly asked the necessary questions, as in case of parents or guardians, if they have acquainted them with their intention, and have their consent, &c. The method of the meeting is, to make a minute thereof, and to appoint proper persons to inquire of their conversation and clearness from all others, and whether they have discharged their duty to their parents or guardians; and to make report thereof to the next Monthly Meeting, where the same parties are desired to give their attendance. In case it appears they have proceeded orderly, the meeting passes their proposal, and so records it in their meeting-book. And in case the woman be a widow, and hath children, due care is there taken, that provision also be made by her for the orphans, before the meeting passes the proposals of marriage; advising the parties concerned to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fitting notice to their relations, and such friends and neighbours as they desire should be the witnesses of their marriage; where they take one another by the hand,

and by name promise reciprocally love and fidelity, after the manner before expressed. Of all which proceedings, a narrative in way of certificate is made, to which the said parties first set their hands, thereby making it their act and deed; and then divers relations, spectators and auditors set their names as witnesses of what they said and signed. And this certificate is afterwards registered in the record belonging to the meeting where the marriage is solemnized. Which regular method has been, as it deserves, adjudged in courts of law a good marriage; where it has been by cross and ill people disputed and contested, for want of the accustomed formalities of priest and ring, &c.; ceremonies they have refused, not out of humour, but conscience reasonably grounded, inasmuch as no Scripture example tells us, that the priest had any other part, of old time, than that of a witness among the rest, before whom the Jews used to take one another. And therefore this people look upon it as an imposition to advance the power and profits of the clergy. And for the use of the ring, it is enough to say, that it was a heathenish and vain custom, and never in practice among the people of God, Jews or primitive Christians. The words of the usual form, as, "With my body I thee worship," &c., are hardly defensible. In short, they are more careful, exact and regular than any form now used; and this mode

is free of the inconveniences with which other methods are attended; their care and checks being so many, and such, as that no clandestine marriages can be performed among them.

XI. It may not be unfit to say something here of their births and burials, which make up so much of the pomp and solemnity of too many called Christians. For births, the parents name their own children; which is usually some days after they are born, in the presence of the midwife, if she can be there, and those that were at the birth; who afterwards sign a certificate for that purpose prepared, of the birth and name of the child or children; which is recorded in a proper book, in the Monthly Meeting to which the parents belong; avoiding the accustomed ceremonies and festivals.

XII. Their burials are performed with the same simplicity. If the body of the deceased be near any public meeting-place, it is usually carried thither, for the more convenient reception of those that accompany it to the burying ground; and it so falls out sometimes, that while the meeting is gathering for the burial, some one or other has a word of exhortation, for the sake of the people there met together; after which the body is borne away by young men, or else those that are of the neighbourhood, or those that were most of the intimacy of the deceased party; the corpse being in a plain cof-

fin, without any covering or furniture upon it. At the ground, they pause some time before they put the body into its grave, that if any there should have anything upon them to exhort the people, they may not be disappointed, and that the relations may the more retiredly and solemnly take their last leave of the body of their departed kindred, and the spectators have a sense of mortality, by the occasion then given them to reflect upon their own latter end. Otherwise, they have no set rites or ceremonies on those occasions. Neither do the kindred of the deceased ever wear mourning; they looking upon it as a worldly ceremony and piece of pomp; and that what mourning is fit for a Christian to have at the departure of a beloved relation or friend, should be worn in the mind, which only is sensible of the loss; and the love they had to them, and remembrance of them, to be outwardly expressed by a respect to their advice, and care of those they have left behind them, and their love of that they loved. Which conduct of theirs, though unmodish or unfashionable, leaves nothing of the substance of things neglected or undone. And as they aim at no more, so, that simplicity of life is what they observe with great satisfaction, though it sometimes happens not to be without the mockeries of the vain world they live in.

These things to be sure gave them a rough and

disagreeable appearance with the generality, who thought them turners of the world upside down, as indeed, in some sense they were; but in no other than that wherein Paul was so charged, viz., to bring things back into their primitive and right order again. For these and such like practices of theirs were not the result of humour, or for civil distinction, as some have fancied, but a fruit of inward sense, which God, through his holy fear, had begotten in them. They did not consider how to contradict the world, or distinguish themselves as a party from others; it being none of their business, as it was not their interest; no, it was not the result of consultation or a framed design by which to declare or recommend schism or novelty. But God having given them a sight of themselves, they saw the whole world in the same glass of truth, and sensibly discerned the affections and passions of men, and the rise and tendency of things; what it was that gratified the "lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but of the world." And from thence sprang, in the night of darkness and apostacy which hath been over people through their degeneration from the Light and Spirit of God, these and many other vain customs; which are seen by the heavenly day of Christ, that dawns in the soul, to be either wrong in their original, or by time and abuse, hurt-

ful in their practice. And though these things seemed trivial to some, and rendered these people stingy and conceited in such persons' opinion, there was and is more in them than they were aware of.

It was not very easy to our primitive friends to make themselves sights and spectacles, and the scorn and derision of the world; which they easily foresaw must be the consequence of so unfashionable a conversation in it. But here was the wisdom of God seen in the foolishness of these things; *first*, That they discovered the satisfaction and concern that people had in and for the fashions of this world, notwithstanding their high pretences to another, in that any disappointment about them came so very near them, as that the greatest honesty, virtue, wisdom, and ability were unwelcome without them. *Secondly*, It seasonably and profitably divided conversation; for this making their society uneasy to their relations and acquaintance, it gave them the opportunity of more retirement and solitude; wherein they met with better company, even the Lord God their Redeemer, and grew strong in his love, power, and wisdom, and were thereby better qualified for his service. And the success abundantly showed it: blessed be the name of the Lord.

And though they were not great and learned in the esteem of this world, (for then they had not

wanted followers upon their own credit and authority,) yet they were generally of the most sober of the several persuasions they were in, and of the most repute for religion; and many of them of good capacity, substance, and account among men.

And also some among them wanted not for parts, learning or estate; though then, as of old, not many wise, or noble, &c., were called, or at least received the heavenly call, because of the cross that attended the profession of it in sincerity. But neither do parts nor learning make men the better Christians, though the better orators and disputants; and it is the ignorance of people about the divine gift, that causes that vulgar and mischievous mistake. Theory and practice, speculation and enjoyment, words and life, are two things. Oh! it is the penitent, the reformed, the lowly, the watchful, the self-denying and holy soul, that is the Christian. And that frame is the fruit and work of the Spirit, which is the life of Jesus; whose life, though hid in God the Father, is shed abroad in the hearts of them that truly believe. Oh! that people did but know this to cleanse them, to circumcise them, to quicken them, and to make them new creatures indeed; recreated or regenerated after Christ Jesus unto good works; that they might live to God, and not to themselves, and offer up living prayers and living praises to the living God, through his own living

Spirit, in which only he is to be worshipped in this gospel day.

Oh! that they that read me could but feel me; for my heart is affected with this merciful visitation of the Father of lights and spirits to this poor nation, and the whole world, through the same testimony. Why should the inhabitants thereof reject it? Why should they lose the blessed benefit of it? Why should they not turn to the Lord with all their hearts, and say from the heart, "Speak, Lord, for now thy poor servants hear? Oh! that thy will may be done, thy great, thy good and holy will, in earth as it is in heaven. Do it in us, do it upon us, do what thou wilt with us; for we are thine, and desire to glorify thee our Creator, both for that, and because thou art our Redeemer; for thou art redeeming us from the earth, from the vanities and pollutions of it, to be a peculiar people unto thee." Oh! this were a brave day for England, if so she could say in truth. But alas! the case is otherwise: for which some of thine inhabitants, O land of my nativity! have mourned over thee with bitter wailing and lamentation. Their heads have been indeed as waters, and their eyes as fountains of tears, because of thy transgression and stiff-neckedness; because thou wilt not hear, and fear, and return to the rock, even thy rock, O England! from whence thou art hewn. But be thou warned, O land of

great profession! to receive him into thy heart. Behold at that door it is, he hath stood so long knocking; but thou wilt yet have none of him. Oh! be thou awakened, lest Jerusalem's judgments do swiftly overtake thee, because of Jerusalem's sins that abound in thee. For she abounded in formality, but made void the weighty things of God's law as thou daily doest.

She withstood the Son of God in the flesh, and thou resistest the Son of God in the Spirit. He would have gathered her as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and she would not; so would He have gathered thee out of thy lifeless profession, and have brought thee to inherit substance, to have known his power and kingdom; for which He often knocked within, by his grace and Spirit, and without, by his servants and witnesses, but thou wouldst not be gathered. But on the contrary, as Jerusalem of old persecuted the manifestation of the Son of God in the flesh, and crucified him, and whipped and imprisoned his servants; so hast thou, O land! crucified to thyself afresh the Lord of life and glory, and done despite to his Spirit of grace; slighting the Fatherly visitation, and persecuting the blessed dispensers of it by thy laws and magistrates; though they have early and late pleaded with thee in the power and Spirit of the Lord, in love and meekness, that thou mightest

know the Lord, and serve him, and become the glory of all lands.

But thou hast evilly entreated and requited them. Thou hast set at nought all their counsel, and wouldst have none of their reproof, as thou shouldst have had. Their appearance was too strait, and their qualifications were too mean for thee to receive them; like the Jews of old, that cried, "Is not this the carpenter's son, and are not his brethren among us; which of the scribes, of the learned (the orthodox) believe in him?" prophesying their fall in a year or two, and making and executing severe laws to bring it to pass; endeavouring to terrify them out of their holy way, or destroy them for abiding faithful to it. But thou hast seen how many governments that rose against them, and determined their downfall, have been overturned and extinguished, and that they are still preserved, and become a great and a considerable people, among the middle sort of thy numerous inhabitants. And notwithstanding the many difficulties without and within, which they have laboured under, since the Lord God Eternal first gathered them, they are an increasing people; the Lord still adding unto them, in divers parts, such as shall be saved, if they persevere to the end. And to thee, O England! were they, and are they lifted up as a standard, and as a city set upon a hill, and to the nations round about thee, that in their

light thou mayest come to see light, even in Christ Jesus, the light of the world; and therefore thy light, and life too, if thou wouldst but turn from thy many evil ways, and receive and obey it. For in the Light of the Lamb must the nations of them that are saved walk, as the Scripture testifies.

Remember, O nation of great profession! how the Lord has waited upon thee since the dawning of reformation, and the many mercies and judgments by which he has pleaded with thee; and awake and arise out of thy deep sleep, and yet hear his word in thy heart, that thou mayst live.

Let not this thy day of visitation pass over thy head, nor neglect thou so great salvation as is this which is come to thy house, O England! for why shouldst thou die, O land that God desires to bless? Be assured it is He that has been in the midst of this people, in the midst of thee; and not a delusion, as thy mistaken teachers have made thee believe. And this thou shalt find by their marks and fruits, if thou wilt consider them in the spirit of moderation.

I. They were changed men themselves before they went about to change others. Their hearts were rent as well as their garments; and they knew the power and work of God upon them. And this was seen by the great alteration it made, and their

stricter course of life and more godly conversation that immediately followed upon it.

II. They went not forth, or preached in their own time or will, but in the will of God; and spoke not their own studied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his Spirit, with which they were well acquainted in their own conversion; which cannot be expressed to carnal men, so as to give them any intelligible account; for to such it is, as Christ said, like the blowing of the wind, which no man knows, whence it cometh, or whither it goeth. Yet this proof and seal went along with their ministry, that many were turned from their lifeless professions, and the evil of their ways, to an inward and experimental knowledge of God, and a holy life, as thousands can witness. And as they freely received what they had to say from the Lord, so they freely administered it to others.

III. The bent and stress of their ministry was conversion to God; regeneration and holiness. Not schemes of doctrines and verbal creeds, or new forms of worship; but a leaving off, in religion, the superfluous, and reducing the ceremonious and formal part, and pressing earnestly the substantial, the necessary and profitable part; as all, upon a serious reflection, must and do acknowledge.

IV. They directed people to a principle in themselves, though not of themselves, by which all that

they asserted, preached and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known to them, through experience, to be true; which is a high and distinguishing mark of the truth of their ministry, both that they knew what they said, and were not afraid of coming to the test. For as they were bold from certainty, so they required conformity upon no human authority, but upon conviction, and the conviction of this principle, which they asserted was in them that they preached unto; and unto that they directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of those things which they had affirmed of it, as to its manifestation and work in man. And this is more than the many ministers in the world pretended to. They declare of religion, say many things true, in words, of God, Christ, and the Spirit; of holiness and heaven; that all men should repent and amend their lives, or they will go to hell, &c. But which of them all pretend to speak of their own knowledge and experience; or ever directed to a divine principle, or agent, placed of God in man, to help him; and how to know it, and wait to feel its power to work that good and acceptable will of God in them?

Some of them indeed have spoken of the Spirit, and the operations of it to sanctification, and performance of worship to God; but where and how to find it, and wait in it to perform our duty to

God, was yet as a mystery to be declared by this farther degree of reformation. So that this people did not only in words, more than equally press repentance, conversion and holiness, but did it knowingly and experimentally; and directed those to whom they preached, to a sufficient principle; and told them where it was, and by what tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and efficacy of it to their souls' happiness. Which is more than theory and speculation, upon which most other ministers depend; for here is certainty; a bottom upon which man may boldly appear before God in the great day of account.

V. They reached to the inward state and condition of people, which is an evidence of the virtue of their principle, and of their ministering from it, and not from their own imaginations, glosses, or comments upon Scripture. For nothing reaches the heart, but what is from the heart, or pierces the conscience, but what comes from a living conscience. Insomuch that it hath often happened, where people have, under secrecy, revealed their state or condition to some choice friends for advice or ease, they have been so particularly directed in the ministry of this people, that they have challenged their friends with discovering their secrets, and telling their preachers their cases, to whom a word had not been spoken. Yea, the very thoughts

and purposes of the hearts of many have been so plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, cried out, of this inward appearance of Christ: "Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel." And those that have embraced this divine principle have found this mark of its truth and divinity, (as the woman of Samaria did of Christ when in the flesh, that he was the Messiah,) viz., "It had told them all that ever they had done;" shown them their insides, the most inward secrets of their hearts, and laid judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; of which thousands can, at this day, give in their witness. So that nothing has been affirmed by this people, of the power and virtue of this heavenly principle, that such as have turned to it have not found true, and more; and that one-half had not been told them of what they have seen of the power, purity, wisdom and goodness of God therein.

VI. The accomplishments with which this principle fitted, even some of the meanest of this people, for their work and service; furnishing some of them with an extraordinary understanding in divine things, and an admirable fluency and taking way of expression which gave occasion to some to wonder, saying of them as of their Master, "Is not this such a mechanic's son? how came he by this learning?" As from thence others took occasion to suspect and

insinuate they were Jesuits in disguise, (who had the reputation of learned men for an age past,) though there was not the least ground of truth for any such reflection. In that their ministers are known, their place of abode, their kindred and education.

VII. That they came forth low, and despised, and hated, as the primitive Christians did, and not by the help of worldly wisdom or power, as former reformations, in part, have done. But in all things it may be said, this people were brought forth in the cross; in a contradiction to the ways, worships, fashions and customs of this world; yea, against wind and tide, that so no flesh might glory before God.

They could have no design to themselves in this work, thus to expose themselves to scorn and abuse; to spend and be spent; leaving wife and children, house and land, and all that can be accounted dear to men, with their lives in their hands, being daily in jeopardy, to declare this primitive message, revived in their spirits, by the good Spirit and power of God; viz.

That God is light, and in him is no darkness at all; and that he has sent his Son a light into the world, to enlighten all men in order to salvation; and that they that say they have fellowship with God, and are his children and people, and yet walk in darkness, (viz. in disobedience to the light in their consciences,) and after the vanity of this

world, they lie, and do not the truth. But that all such as love the light, and bring their deeds to it, and walk in the light, as God is light, the blood of Jesus Christ his Son, should cleanse them from all sin.

VIII. Their known great constancy and patience in suffering for their testimony, in all the branches of it; and that sometimes unto death, by beatings, bruising, long and crowded imprisonments, and noisome dungeons; four of them in New England dying by the hands of the executioner, purely for preaching amongst that people; besides banishments and excessive plunders and sequestrations of their goods and estates, almost in all parts, not easily to be expressed, and less to have been endured, but by those that have the support of a good and glorious cause, refusing deliverance by any indirect ways or means, as often as it was offered unto them.

IX. That they did not only not show any disposition to revenge, when it was at any time in their power, but forgave their cruel enemies; showing mercy to those that had none for them.

X. Their plainness with those in authority, like the ancient prophets, not fearing to tell them to their faces of their private and public sins; and their prophecies to them of their afflictions and downfall, when in the top of their glory; also of some national

judgments, as of the plague, and fire of London, in express terms; and likewise particular ones to divers persecutors, which accordingly overtook them; that were very remarkable in the places where they dwelt; which in time may be made public for the glory of God.

Thus, reader, thou seest this people in their rise, principles, ministry and progress, both their general and particular testimony; by which thou mayest be informed how, and upon what foot they sprang and became so considerable a people. It remains next that I show also their care, conduct, and discipline, as a Christian and reformed society, that they might be found living up to their own principles and profession. And this, the rather, because they have hardly suffered more in their character from the unjust charge of error, than by the false imputation of disorder; which calumny, indeed, has not failed to follow all the true steps that were ever made to reformation, and under which reproach none suffered more than the primitive Christians themselves, that were the honour of Christianity, and the great lights and examples of their own and succeeding ages.

This people increasing daily, both in town and country, a holy care fell upon some of the elders among them, for the benefit and service of the church. And the first business in their view, after

the example of the primitive saints, was the exercise of charity; to supply the necessities of the poor, and answer the like occasions. Wherefore, collections were early and liberally made for that and divers other services in the church, and intrusted with faithful men, fearing God, and of good report, who were not weary in well-doing; adding often of their own, in large proportions, which they never brought to account, or desired should be known, much less restored to them, that none might want, nor any service be retarded or disappointed.

They were also very careful that every one that belonged to them answered their profession in their behaviour among men, upon all occasions; that they lived peaceably, and were in all things good examples. They found themselves engaged to record their sufferings and services: and in case of marriage, which they could not perform in the usual methods of the nation, but among themselves, they took care that all things were clear between the parties and all others. And it was then rare that any one entertained an inclination to a person on that account, till he or she had communicated it secretly to some very weighty and eminent friends among them, that they might have a sense of the matter; looking to the counsel and unity of their brethren as of great moment to them. But because the charge of the poor, the number of orphans,

marriages, sufferings and other matters multiplied, and that it was good that the churches were in some way and method of proceeding in such affairs among them, to the end they might the better correspond upon occasion, where a member of one meeting might have to do with one of another; it pleased the Lord in his wisdom and goodness, to open the understanding of the first Instrument of this dispensation of life, about a good and orderly way of proceeding; who felt a holy concern to visit the churches in person throughout this nation, to begin and establish it among them. And by his epistles, the like was done in other nations and provinces abroad, which he also afterwards visited, and helped in that service; which shall be observed when I come to speak of him.

Now the care, conduct and discipline, I have been speaking of, and which are now practised among this people, is as followeth.

This godly elder, in every county where he travelled, exhorted them, that some out of every meeting for worship, should meet together once in the month, to confer about the wants and occasions of the church. And as the case required, so those Monthly Meetings were fewer or more in number in every respective county: four or six meetings for worship, usually making one monthly meeting for business. And accordingly the brethren met him

from place to place, and began the said meetings, viz.: For the poor, orphans, orderly walking, integrity to their profession, births, marriages, burials, sufferings, &c. And that these Monthly Meetings should in each county, make up one Quarterly Meeting, where the most zealous and eminent friends of the county should assemble to communicate, advise and help one another, especially when any business seemed difficult, or a Monthly Meeting was tender of determining a matter.

Also that these several Quarterly Meetings should digest the reports of their Monthly Meetings, and prepare one for each respective county against the Yearly Meeting, in which all Quarterly Meetings resolve; which is held in London; where the churches in this nation, and other nations and provinces, meet by chosen members of their respective counties, both mutually to communicate their church-affairs, and to advise, and be advised, in any depending case, to edification: also to provide a requisite stock for the discharge of general expenses for general services in the church, not needful to be here particularized.

At these meetings any of the members of the churches, may come, if they please, and speak their minds freely, in the fear of God, to any matter: but the mind of each Quarterly Meeting, therein represented, is chiefly understood, as to particular cases,

in the sense delivered by the persons deputed, or chosen for that service by the said meeting.

During their Yearly Meeting, to which their other meetings refer in their order, and naturally resolve themselves, care is taken by a select number for that service, chosen by the general assembly, to draw up the minutes of the said meeting, upon the several matters that have been under consideration therein, to the end that the respective Quarterly and Monthly Meetings may be informed of all proceedings; together with a general exhortation to holiness, unity and charity. Of all which proceedings in the Yearly, Monthly and Quarterly meetings, due record is kept by some one appointed for that service, or that hath voluntarily undertaken it. These meetings are opened, and usually concluded, in their solemn waiting upon God, who is sometimes graciously pleased to answer them with as signal evidences of his love and presence, as in any of their meetings of worship.

It is further to be noted, that in these solemn assemblies for the churches' service, there is no one presides among them after the manner of the assemblies of other people; Christ only being their President, as He is pleased to appear in life and wisdom in any one or more of them; to whom, whatever be their capacity or degree, the rest adhere with a firm unity, not of authority, but conviction, which is the

divine authority and way of Christ's power and Spirit in his people: making good his blessed promise, that he would be in the midst of his, where and whenever they were met together in his name, even to the end of the world. So be it.

Now it may be expected, I should here set down what sort of authority is exercised by this people, upon such members of their society as correspond not in their lives with their profession, and that are refractory to this good and wholesome order settled among them; and the rather, because they have not wanted their reproach and sufferings from some tongues and pens, upon this occasion, in a plentiful manner.

The power they exercise, is such as Christ has given to his own people, to the end of the world, in the persons of his disciples, viz. to oversee, exhort, reprove, and after long suffering and waiting upon the disobedient and refractory, to disown them, as any more of their communion, or that they will any longer stand charged in the sight and judgment of God or men, with their conversation or behaviour, as any of them, until they repent. The subject-matter about which this authority, in any of the foregoing branches of it, is exercised; is first, in relation to common and general practice; and secondly, about those things that more strictly refer to their own character and profession, and which distinguish

them from all other professors of Christianity; avoiding two extremes upon which many split, viz. persecution and libertinism: that is, a coercive power, to whip people into the temple; that such as will not conform, though against faith and conscience, shall be punished in their persons or estates: or leaving all loose and at large, as to practice, and so unaccountable to all but God and the magistrate. To which hurtful extreme, nothing has more contributed than the abuse of church power, by such as suffer their passion and private interests to prevail with them to carry it to outward force and corporal punishment—a practice they have been taught to dislike, by their extreme sufferings, as well as their known principle for a universal liberty of conscience.

On the other hand, they equally dislike an independency in society; an unaccountableness, in practice and conversation, to the rules and terms of their own communion, and to those that are the members of it. They distinguish between imposing any practice that immediately regards faith or worship, (which is never to be done or suffered, or submitted unto) and requiring Christian compliance with those methods that only respect church-business in its more civil part and concern; and that regard the discreet and orderly maintenance of the character of the society as a sober and religious community In short,

what is for the promotion of holiness and charity, that men may practise what they profess, live up to their own principles, and not be at liberty to give the lie to their own profession without rebuke, is their use and limit of Church power. They compel none to join them, but oblige those that are of them to walk suitably, or they are denied by them: that is all the mark they set upon them, and the power they exercise, or judge a Christian society can exercise, upon those that are the members of it.

The way of their proceeding against such as have lapsed or transgressed, is this: he is visited by some of them, and the matter of fact laid home to him, be it any evil practice against known and general virtue, or any branch of their particular testimony, which he, in common, professeth with them. They labour with him in much love and zeal, for the good of his soul, the honour of God, and reputation of their profession, to own his fault and condemn it, in as ample a manner as the evil or scandal was given by him; which for the most part is performed by some written testimony under the party's hand: and if it so happen, that the party prove refractory, and is not willing to clear the truth they profess, from the reproach of his or her evil doing or unfaithfulness, they, after repeated entreaties and due waiting for a token of repentance, give forth a paper to disown such a fact, and the party offending;

recording the same as a testimony of their care for the honour of the truth they profess.

And if he or she shall clear their profession and themselves by sincere acknowledgment of their fault, and godly sorrow for so doing, they are received and looked upon again as members of their communion. For as God, so his true people, upbraid no man after repentance.

This is the account I have to give of the people of God called Quakers, as to their rise, appearance, principles and practices in this age of the world, both with respect to their faith and worship, discipline and conversation. And I judge it very proper in this place, because it is to preface the journal of the first blessed and glorious instrument of this work, and for a testimony to him in his singular qualifications and services, in which he abundantly excelled in this day, and which are worthy to be set forth as an example to all succeeding times, to the glory of the Most High God, and for a just memorial to that worthy and excellent man, His faithful servant and apostle to this generation of the world.

I am now come to the third head or branch of my subject, viz. The instrumental author. For it is natural for some to say, Well, here are the people and work, but where and who was the man, the instrument—he that in this age was sent to begin this

work and people? I shall, as God shall enable me, declare who and what he was; not only by report of others, but from my own long and most inward converse, and intimate knowledge of him; for which my soul blesseth God as it hath often done: and I doubt not, but by that time I have discharged myself of this part of my subject, my serious readers will believe I had good cause so to do.

The blessed instrument of and in this day of God, and of whom I am now about to write, was George Fox, distinguished from another of that name, by that other's addition of *younger* to his name, in all his writings; not that he was so in years, but that he was so in the Truth: but he was also a worthy man, witness and servant of God in his time.

But this George Fox was born in Leicestershire, about the year 1624. He descended of honest and sufficient parents, who endeavoured to bring him up, as they did the rest of their children, in the way and worship of the nation: especially his mother, who was a woman accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived. But from a child he appeared of another frame of mind than the rest of his brethren; being more religious, inward, still, solid, and observing beyond his years, as the answers he would give, and the questions he would put, upon occasion, manifested, to the asto-

nishment of those that heard him, especially in divine things.

His mother, taking notice of his singular temper, and the gravity, wisdom and piety, that very early shined through him, refusing childish and vain sports and company when very young, was tender and indulgent over him, so that from her he met with little difficulty. As to his employment, he was brought up in country business, and as he took most delight in sheep, so he was very skilful in them; an employment that very well suited his mind in several respects, both for its innocency and solitude; and was a just emblem of his after ministry and service.

I shall not break in upon his own account, which is by much the best that can be given; and therefore desire what I can, to avoid saying any thing of what is said already, as to the particular passages of his coming forth; but, in general, when he was somewhat above twenty, he left his friends, and visited the most retired and religious people. And some there were at that time in this nation, especially in those parts, who waited for the consolation of Israel, night and day, as Zacharias, Anna, and good old Simeon did of old time. To these he was sent, and these he sought out in the neighbouring counties, and among them he sojourned, till his more ample ministry came upon him. At this time

he taught, and was an example of silence, endeavouring to bring them from self-performances; testifying of, and turning them to the light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience, and to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man. For in the Word was life, and that life is the light of men. Life in the Word, light in men; and life in men too, as the light is obeyed: the children of the light living by the life of the Word, by which the Word begets them again to God, which is the regeneration and new birth, without which there is no coming into the kingdom of God: and to which whoever comes, is greater than John; that is, than John's dispensation, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and forerunning of the gospel-times. Accordingly, several meetings were gathered in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.

In 1652, he being in his usual retirement, his mind exercised towards the Lord, upon a very high mountain (in some of the hither parts of Yorkshire, as I take it), he had a vision of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth in a public Ministry to begin it. He saw people as thick as motes

in the sun, that should in time be brought home to the Lord, that there might be but one Shepherd and one sheepfold in all the earth. There his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to sound out his great and notable day, as if he had been in a great auditory; and from thence went north, as the Lord had shown him. And in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shown to him, so that the Lord was his Leader indeed. For it was not in vain that he travelled; God in most places sealing his commission with the convincement of some of all sorts, as well publicans as sober professors of religion. Some of the first and most eminent of those that came forth in a public ministry, and which are now at rest, were Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, William Dewsberry, Thos. Aldam, Francis Howgil, Edward Burroughs, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simson, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Widders, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salt-house, and many more worthies, that cannot be well here named; together with divers yet living of the first and great convincement, who, after the knowledge of God's purging judgment in themselves,

and some time of waiting in silence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high to speak in his name, (which none else rightly can, though they may use the same words) they felt its divine motions, and were frequently drawn forth, especially to visit the public assemblies, to reprove, inform, and exhort them; sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway side; calling people to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts as well as their mouths; directing them to the light of Christ within them, to see, examine, and consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil, and do the good and acceptable will of God. And they suffered great hardships for this their love and good will; being often stocked, stoned, beaten, whipped and imprisoned, though honest men, and of good report where they lived, that had left wives, children, houses, and lands, to visit them with a living call to repentance. And though the priests generally set themselves to oppose them, and write against them, and insinuated most false and scandalous stories to defame them, stirring up the magistrates to suppress them, especially in those northern parts; yet God was pleased so to fill them with his living power, and give them such an open door of utterance in his service, that there was a mighty convincement over those parts.

And through the tender and singular indulgence

of Judge Bradshaw, and Judge Fell, in the infancy of things, the priests were never able to gain the point they laboured for, which was to have proceeded to blood: and, if possible, Herod-like, by a cruel exercise of the civil power, to have cut them off, and rooted them out of the country: but especially Judge Fell, who was not only a check to their rage in the course of legal proceedings, but otherwise upon occasion, and finally countenanced this people. For his wife receiving the Truth with the first, it had that influence upon his spirit, being a just and wise man, and seeing in his own wife and family a full confutation of all the popular clamours against the way of truth, that he covered them what he could, and freely opened his doors, and gave up his house to his wife and her friends; not valuing the reproach of ignorant or evil-minded people; which I here mention to his or her honour, and which will be, I believe, an honour and a blessing to such of their name and family, as shall be found in that tenderness, humility, love and zeal for the Truth and people of the Lord.

That house was for some years, at first especially, till the Truth had opened its way into the southern parts of this island, an eminent receptacle of this people. Others, of good note and substance in those northern countries, had also opened their houses, together with their hearts, to the many pub-

lishers, that, in a short time, the Lord had raised to declare his salvation to the people; and where meetings of the Lord's messengers were frequently held, to communicate their services and exercises, and comfort and edify one another in their blessed ministry.

But lest this may be thought a digression, having touched upon this before, I return to this excellent man; and for his personal qualities, both natural, moral and divine, as they appeared in his converse with the brethren, and in the church of God, take as follows:

1. He was a man that God endued with a clear and wonderful depth; a discerner of others' spirits, and very much a master of his own. And though that side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound; and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so, the more weighty and instructing it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would seem to fall from him, about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And, indeed, it showed beyond all contradiction, that God sent him; in that no art or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry; and that so many

great, excellent, and necessary truths as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them. So that as to man he was an original, being no man's copy. And his ministry and writings show they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he said by study. Nor were they notional or speculative, but sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration, and the setting up of the kingdom of God in the hearts of men. And the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myself, and been made to say, with my Lord and Master, upon the like occasion, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed them to babes." For many times hath my soul bowed in an humble thankfulness to the Lord, that he did not choose any of the wise and learned of this world to be the first messenger in our age, of his blessed truth to men; but that he took one that was not of high degree, or elegant speech, or learned after the way of this world, that his message and work, he sent him to do, might come with less suspicion, or jealousy of human wisdom and interest, and with more force and clearness upon the consciences of those that sincerely sought the way of truth in the love of it. I say, beholding with the

eye of my mind, which the God of heaven had opened in me, the marks of God's finger and hand visibly in this testimony, from the clearness of the principle, the power and efficacy of it, in the exemplary sobriety, plainness, zeal, steadiness; humility, gravity, punctuality, charity and circumspect care in the government of church affairs, which shined in his and their life and testimony that God employed in this work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of God, and engaged my soul in a deep love, fear, reverence and thankfulness for his love and mercy therein to mankind: in which mind I remain, and shall, I hope, to the end of my days.

II. In his testimony or ministry, he much laboured to open truth to the people's understandings, and to bottom them upon the principle and principal, Christ Jesus, the Light of the world; that by bringing them to something that was from God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of him and themselves.

III. He had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures. He would go to the marrow of things, and show the mind, harmony and fulfilling of them with much plainness, and to great comfort and edification.

IV. The mystery of the first and second Adam, of the fall and restoration, of the law and gospel, of shadows and substance, of the servant's and son's

state, and the fulfilling of the Scriptures in Christ, and by Christ, the true Light, in all that are his, through the obedience of faith, were much of the substance and drift of his testimonies. In all which he was witnessed to be of God; being sensibly felt to speak that which he had received of Christ, and was his own experience, in that which never errs nor fails.

V. But above all, he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know him most, will see most reason to approach him with reverence and fear.

VI. He was of an innocent life, no busybody, nor self-seeker; neither touching nor critical. What fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil, and that every where, and in all; but with love, compassion and long-suffering. A most merciful man, as ready

to forgive, as unapt to take or give an offence. Thousands can truly say he was of an excellent spirit and savour among them; and because thereof, the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

VII. He was an incessant labourer: for in his younger time, before his many, great and deep sufferings and travels had enfeebled his body for itinerant services, he laboured much in the word and doctrine, and discipline, in England, Scotland and Ireland; turning many to God, and confirming those that were convinced of the truth, and settling good order, as to church affairs, among them. And towards the conclusion of his travelling services, between the years 1671 and 1677, he visited the churches of Christ in the plantations in America, and in the United Provinces, and Germany, as his journal relates, to the convincement and consolation of many. After that time he chiefly resided in and about the city of London. And besides his labour in the ministry, which was frequent and serviceable, he wrote much, both to them that are within, and those that are without the communion. But the care he took of the affairs of the church in general was very great.

VIII. He was often where the records of the business of the church are kept, and where the letters from the many meetings of God's people over all the

world use to come. Which letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the meeting that is weekly held for such services; and he would be sure to stir them up to answer them, especially in suffering cases; showing great sympathy and compassion upon all such occasions; carefully looking into the respective cases, and endeavouring speedy relief, according to the nature of them. So that the churches, or any of the suffering members thereof, were sure not to be forgotten or delayed in their desires, if he were there.

IX. As he was unwearied, so he was undaunted in his services for God and his people. He was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath. His behaviour at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell, at Launceston, Scarborough, Worcester, and Westminster-Hall, with many other places and exercises, did abundantly evidence it, to his enemies as well as his friends.

But as in the primitive times, some rose up against the blessed apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, even from among those that they had turned to the hope of the gospel, and they became their greatest trouble; so this man of God had his share of suffering from some that were convinced by him, who, through prejudice or mistake, ran against him, as one that sought dominion over conscience, because he pressed, by his presence or epistles, a ready and zealous com-

pliance with such good and wholesome things as tended to an orderly conversation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this ill work was in some, a begrudging of this meek man the love and esteem he had and deserved in the hearts of the people; and weakness in others, that were taken with their groundless suggestions of imposition and blind obedience.

They would have had every man independent; that as he had the principle in himself, he should stand or fall to that only, and nobody else: not considering that the principle is one in all; and though the measure of light or grace might differ, yet the nature of it was the same; and being so, they struck at the spiritual unity, which a people, guided by the same principle, are naturally led into: so that what is an evil to one, is so to all, and what is virtuous, honest, and of good repute to one, is so to all, the sense and savor of the one universal principle which is common to all, and which the disaffected also profess to be the root of all true Christian fellowship, and that spirit into which the people of God drink, and come to be spiritually-minded, and of one heart and one soul.

Some weakly mistook good order in the government of church affairs for discipline in worship, and that it was so pressed or recommended by him and

other brethren. And thereupon they were ready to reflect the same things that dissenters had very reasonably objected upon the national churches, that have coercively pressed conformity to their respective creeds and worships. Whereas these things related wholly to conversation, and the outward, (and as I may say,) civil part of the church; that men should walk up to the principles of their belief, and not be wanting in care and charity. But though some have stumbled and fallen, through mistakes, and an unreasonable obstinacy even to a prejudice; yet blessed be God, the generality have returned to their first love, and seen the work of the enemy, that loses no opportunity or advantage by which he may check or hinder the work of God, and disquiet the peace of his church, and chill the love of his people to the truth, and one to another; and there is hope of divers of the few that yet are at a distance.

In all these occasions, though there was no person the discontented struck so sharply at, as this good man, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches, praying for them, that they might have a sense of their hurt, and see the subtilty of the enemy to rend and divide, and return into their first love that thought no ill.

And truly I must say, that though God had vi-

sibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty; yet he never abused it; but held his place in the church of God with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions, like his blessed Master, he was a servant to all; holding and exercising his eldership in the invisible power that had gathered them, with reverence to the head and care over the body; and was received, only in that spirit and power of Christ, as the first and chief elder in this age: who, as he was therefore worthy of double honour, so for the same reason it was given by the faithful of this day, because his authority was inward and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God, and power of an endless life. I write my knowledge, and not report, and my witness is true; having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature; and that by night and by day, by sea and by land; in this and in foreign countries: and I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion.

For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man, a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things; that whilst he was

ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the grounds of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it everywhere: civil beyond all forms of breeding, in his behaviour; very temperate, eating little, and sleeping less, though a bulky person.

Thus he lived and sojourned among us. And as he lived, so he died; feeling the same eternal power that had raised and preserved him, in his last moments. So full of assurance was he, that he triumphed over death; and so even in his spirit to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice, or a mention: recommending to some of us with him, the despatch and dispersion of an epistle just before given forth by him to the churches of Christ throughout the world, and his own books; but above all, friends, and of all friends, those in Ireland and America; twice over saying, Mind poor friends in Ireland and America.

And to some that came in and inquired how he found himself, he answered, "Never heed, the Lord's power is over all weakness and death; the seed reigns, blessed be the Lord:" which was about four or five hours before his departure out of this world. He was at the great meeting near Lombard street, on the first day of the week, and it was the third following, about ten at night when he left us, being at the house of H. Goldney in the same court.

In a good old age he went, after having lived to see his children's children in the truth to many generations. He had the comfort of a short illness, and the blessing of a clear sense to the last: and we may truly say with a man of God of old, that being dead, he yet speaketh; and though now absent in body, he is present in spirit: neither time nor place being able to interrupt the communion of saints, or dissolve the fellowship of the spirits of the just. His works praise him, because they are to the praise of Him that wrought by him; for which his memorial is and shall be blessed. I have done, as to this part of my subject, when I have left this short epitaph to his name: "Many sons have done virtuously in this day; but, dear George, thou excellest them all."

And now, friends, you that profess to walk in the way that this blessed man was sent of God to turn us into; suffer, I beseech you, the word of exhortation, as well fathers as children, and elders as young men. The glory of this day, and foundation of the hope that has not made us ashamed since we were a people, you know, is that blessed principle of light and life of Christ which we profess, and direct all people to, as the great and divine instrument and agent of man's conversion to God. It was by this that we were first touched and effec-

tually enlightened, as to our inward state; which put us upon the consideration of our latter end; causing us to set the Lord before our eyes, and to number our days, that we might apply our hearts to wisdom. In that day we judged not after the sight of the eye, nor after the hearing of the ear; but according to the light and sense this blessed principle gave us, so we judged and acted in reference to things and persons, ourselves and others; yea, towards God our Maker. For being quickened by it in our inward man, we could easily discern the difference of things, and feel what was right, and what was wrong, and what was fit, and what not, both in reference to religious and civil concerns. That being the ground of the fellowship of all saints, it was in that our fellowship stood. In this we desired to have a sense of one another, acted towards one another, and all men, in love, faithfulness, and fear.

In feeling of the stirrings and motions of this principle in our hearts, we drew near to the Lord, and waited to be prepared by it, that we might feel drawings and movings before we approached the Lord in prayer, or opened our mouths in ministry. And in our beginning and ending with this, stood our comfort, service, and edification. And as we ran faster or fell short in our services, we made burdens for ourselves to bear; finding in ourselves

a rebuke instead of an acceptance; and in lieu of well done, who has required this at your hands? In that day we were an exercised people, our very countenances and deportment declared it.

Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourselves; especially of the young convinced. Often had we the burden of the word of the Lord to our neighbours, relations, and acquaintance, and sometimes strangers also. We were in travail likewise for one another's preservation; not seeking, but shunning occasions of any coldness or misunderstanding; treating one another as those that believed and felt God present: which kept our conversation innocent, serious, and weighty; guarding ourselves against the cares and friendships of the world.

We held the truth in the spirit of it, and not in our own spirits, or after our own will and affections: they were bowed and brought into subjection, inasmuch that it was visible to them that knew us. We did not think ourselves at our own disposal, to go where we list, or say or do what we list or when we list. Our liberty stood in the liberty of the Spirit of Truth; and no pleasure, no profit, no fear, no favour, could draw us from this retired, strict, and watchful frame. We were so far from seeking occasions of company, that we avoided them what we could; pursuing our own business with mode-

ration, instead of meddling with other people's unnecessarily.

Our words were few and savory, our looks composed and weighty, and our whole deportment very observable. True it is, that this retired and strict sort of life from the liberty of the conversation of the world, exposed us to the censures of many, as humourists, conceited and self-righteous persons, &c. But it was our preservation from many snares, to which others were continually exposed, by the prevalency of the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occasions or temptations to excite them abroad in the converse of the world.

I cannot forget the humility and chaste zeal of that day. Oh! how constant at meetings, how retired in them, how firm to Truth's life as well as Truth's principles! And how entire and united in our communion, as indeed became those that profess one Head, even Christ Jesus the Lord.

This being the testimony and example the man of God, before-mentioned, was sent to declare and leave amongst us, and we having embraced the same as the merciful visitation of God to us, the word of exhortation at this time is, That we continue to be found in the way of this testimony, with all zeal and integrity, and so much the more, by how much the day draweth near.

And first, as to you, my beloved and much honoured brethren in Christ, that are in the exercise of the ministry: Oh! feel life in your ministry—let life be your commission, your well-spring and treasury on all such occasions: else you well know, there can be no begetting to God, since nothing can quicken or make people alive to God, but the life of God; and it must be a ministry in and from life, that enlivens any people to God. We have seen the fruit of all other ministries, by the few that are turned from the evil of their ways. It is not our parts, or memory, or the repetition of former openings, in our own will and time, that will do God's work. A dry doctrinal ministry, however sound in words, can reach but the ear, and is but a dream at the best: there is another soundness, that is soundest of all, viz.: Christ the power of God. This is the key of David, that opens and none shuts, and shuts and none can open: as the oil to the lamp, and the soul to the body, so is that to the best of words: which made Christ to say, "My words, they are Spirit, and they are life;" that is, they are from life, and therefore they make you alive, that receive them. If the disciples, that had lived with Jesus, were to stay at Jerusalem till they received it, much more must we wait to receive before we minister, if we will turn people from darkness to light, and from Satan's power to God.

I fervently bow my knees to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you may always be like-minded, that you may ever wait reverently, for the coming and opening of the Word of Life, and attend upon it in your ministry and service, that you may serve God in his Spirit. And be it little or be it much, it is well, for much is not too much, and the least is enough, if from the motion of God's Spirit; and without it, verily, never so little is too much, because to no profit.

For it is the Spirit of the Lord immediately, or through the ministry of his servants, that teacheth his people to profit; and to be sure, so far as we take Him along with us in our services, so far we are profitable, and no farther. For if it be the Lord that must work all things in us for our salvation, much more is it the Lord that must work in us for the conversion of others. If, therefore, it was once a cross to us to speak, though the Lord required it at our hands, let it never be so to be silent when he does not.

It is one of the most dreadful sayings in the book of God, that "He that adds to the words of the prophecy of this book, God will add to him the plagues written in this book." To keep back the counsel of God is as terrible; for "he that takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life."

And truly, it has great caution in it, to those that use the name of the Lord, to be well assured the Lord speaks, that they may not be found of the number of those that add to the words of the testimony of prophecy, which the Lord giveth them to bear; nor yet to mince or diminish the same, both being so very offensive to God.

Wherefore, brethren, let us be careful neither to outgo our Guide, nor yet loiter behind him: since he that makes haste, may miss his way, and he that stays behind, lose his guide. For even those that have received the word of the Lord, had need wait for wisdom, that they may see how to divide the word aright: which plainly implieth, that it is possible for one that hath received the word of the Lord, to miss in the dividing and application of it; which must come from an impatience of spirit, and a self-working, which makes an unsound and dangerous mixture, and will hardly beget a right-minded living people to God.

I am earnest in this above all other considerations, as to public brethren; well knowing how much it concerns the present and future state and preservation of the church of Christ Jesus, that has been gathered and built up by a living and powerful ministry, that the ministry be held, preserved and continued in the manifestations, motions and supplies of the same life and power, from time to time.

And wherever it is observed, that any do minister more from gifts and parts, than life and power, though they have an enlightened and doctrinal understanding, let them in time be advised and admonished for their preservation; because insensibly such will come to depend upon a self-sufficiency; to forsake Christ the living fountain, and hew out unto themselves cisterns that will hold no living waters; and by degrees, such will come to draw others from waiting upon the gift of God in themselves, and to feel it in others, in order to their strength and refreshment, to wait upon them, and to turn from God to man again, and so make shipwreck of the faith once delivered to the saints, and of a good conscience towards God; which are only kept by that divine gift of life, that begat the one, and awakened and sanctified the other in the beginning.

Nor is it enough, that we have known the divine gift, and in it have preached to the spirits in prison, and been the instruments of the convincing of others of the way of God, if we keep not as low and poor in ourselves, and as depending upon the Lord, as ever: since no memory, no repetitions of former openings, revelations or enjoyments, will bring a soul to God, or afford bread to the hungry, or water to the thirsty, unless life go with what we say; and that must be waited for.

Oh! that we may have no other fountain, treasure or dependence! That none may presume at any rate to act of themselves for God, because they have long acted from God; that we may not supply want of waiting with our own wisdom, or think that we may take less care and more liberty in speaking than formerly; and that where we do not feel the Lord, by his power, to open us and enlarge us, whatever be the expectation of the people, or has been our customary supply and character, we may not exceed or fill up the time with our own.

I hope we shall ever remember, who it was that said, "Of yourselves ye can do nothing." Our sufficiency is in him. And if we are not to speak our own words, or take thought what we should say to men in our defence when exposed for our testimony, surely we ought to speak none of our own words, or take thought what we shall say in our testimony and ministry, in the name of our Lord, to the souls of the people; for then, of all times, and of all other occasions, should it be fulfilled in us; "for it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that speaketh in you."

And, indeed, the ministry of the Spirit must and does keep its analogy and agreement with the birth of the Spirit; that as no man can inherit the kingdom of God, unless he be born of the Spirit, so no ministry can beget a soul to God, but that which is

from the Spirit. For this, as I said before, the disciples waited before they went forth; and in this, our elder brethren, and messengers of God in our day, waited, visited, and reached us. And having begun in the Spirit, let none ever hope or seek to be made perfect in the flesh. For what is the flesh to the Spirit, or the chaff to the wheat? And if we keep in the Spirit, we shall keep in the unity of it, which is the ground of the fellowship. For by drinking into that one Spirit, we are made one people to God, and by it we are continued in the unity of the faith, and the bond of peace. No envying, no bitterness, no strife, can have place with us. We shall watch always for good, and not for evil, one over another, and rejoice exceedingly, and not begrudge at one another's increase in the riches of the grace with which God replenisheth his faithful servants.

And brethren, as to you is committed the dispensation of the oracles of God, which gives you frequent opportunities, and great place with the people among whom you travel, I beseech you that you would not think it sufficient to declare the Word of life in their assemblies, however edifying and comfortable such opportunities may be to you and them: but, as was the practice of the man of God before mentioned, in great measure, when among us, to inquire the state of the several churches you

visit; who among them are afflicted or sick, who are tempted, and if any are unfaithful or obstinate; and endeavour to issue those things in the wisdom and power of God, which will be a glorious crown upon your ministry. As that prepares your way in the hearts of the people, to receive you as men of God, so it gives you credit with them to do them good by your advice in other respects; the afflicted will be comforted by you, the tempted strengthened, the sick refreshed, the unfaithful convicted and restored, and such as are obstinate, softened and fitted for reconciliation; which is clinching the nail, and applying and fastening the general testimony, by this particular care of the several branches of it, in reference to them more immediately concerned in it.

For though good and wise men, and elders too, may reside in such places, who are of worth and importance in the general, and in other places; yet it does not always follow, that they may have the room they deserve in the hearts of the people they live among; or some particular occasion may make it unfit for him or them to use that authority. But you that travel as God's Messengers, if they receive you in the greater, shall they refuse you in the less? And if they own the general testimony, can they withstand the particular application of it, in their own cases? Thus ye will show yourselves workmen indeed, and carry your business before you, to the

praise of His name, that hath called you from darkness to light, that you might turn others from Satan's power unto God and his kingdom, which is within. And Oh! that there were more of such faithful labourers in the vineyard of the Lord! Never more need since the day of God.

Wherefore I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, that have been long professors of the truth, and know the truth in the convincing power of it, and have had a sober conversation among men, yet content yourselves only to know truth for yourselves, to go to meetings, and exercise an ordinary charity in the church, and an honest behaviour in the world, and limit yourselves within these bounds; feeling little or no concern upon your spirits for the glory of the Lord in the prosperity of his truth in the earth, more than to be glad that others succeed in such service. Arise ye in the name and power of the Lord Jesus! Behold how white the fields are unto harvest, in this and other nations, and how few able and faithful labourers there are to work therein! Your country-folks, neighbours and kindred want to know the Lord and his truth, and to walk in it. Does nothing lie at your door upon their account? Search and see, and lose no time, I beseech you; for the Lord is at hand.

I do not judge you; there is one which judgeth all men, and his judgment is true. You have mightily

increased in your outward substance. May you equally increase in your inward riches, and do good with both, while you have a day to do good. Your enemies would once have taken what you had from you for his name's sake, in whom you have believed; wherefore he has given you much of the world, in the face of your enemies. But Oh! let it be your servant, and not your master! Your diversion rather than your business! Let the Lord be chiefly in your eye; and ponder your ways, and see if God has nothing more for you to do: and if you find yourselves short in your account with him, then wait for his preparation, and be ready to receive the word of command, and be not weary of well-doing, when you have put your hand to the plough; and assuredly you shall reap, if you faint not, the fruit of your heavenly labour in God's everlasting kingdom.

And you, young convinced ones, be you entreated and exhorted to a diligent and chaste waiting upon God, in the way of his blessed manifestation and appearance of himself to you. Look not out, but within: let not another's liberty be your snare: neither act by imitation, but sense and feeling of God's power in yourselves: crush not the tender buddings of it in your souls, nor over-run, in your desires and warmth of affections, the holy and gentle motions of it. Remember it is a still voice

that speaks to us in this day, and that it is not to be heard in the noises and hurries of the mind; but it is distinctly understood in a retired frame. Jesus loved and chose solitudes; often going to mountains, gardens, and sea-sides, to avoid crowds and hurries, to show his disciples it was good to be solitary, and sit loose to the world. Two enemies lie near your states, imagination and liberty; but the plain, practical, living, holy truth, that has convinced you, will preserve you, if you mind it in yourselves, and bring all thoughts, inclinations and affections to the test of it, to see if they are wrought in God, or of the enemy, or your own selves. So will a true taste, discerning and judgment be preserved to you, of what you should do and leave undone. And in your diligence and faithfulness in this way you will come to inherit substance; and Christ, the eternal wisdom, will fill your treasury. And when you are converted, as well as convinced, then confirm your brethren; and be ready to every good word and work, that the Lord shall call you to; that you may be to his praise, who has chosen you to be partakers, with the saints in light, of a kingdom that cannot be shaken, an inheritance incorruptible in eternal habitations.

And now, as for you, that are the children of God's people, a great concern is upon my spirit for your good: and often are my knees bowed to the

God of your fathers, for you, that you may come to be partakers of the same divine life and power, that have been the glory of this day; that a generation you may be to God, a holy nation, and a peculiar people, zealous of good works, when all our heads are laid in the dust. O you young men and women! let it not suffice you, that you are the children of the people of the Lord; you must also be born again, if you will inherit the kingdom of God. Your fathers are but such after the flesh, and could but beget you into the likeness of the first Adam; but you must be begotten into the likeness of the second Adam, by a spiritual generation, or you will not, you cannot be of his children or offspring. And therefore look carefully about you, O ye children of the children of God! Consider your standing, and see what you are in relation to this divine kindred, family and birth. Have you obeyed the light, and received and walked in the Spirit, which is the incorruptible seed of the Word and kingdom of God; of which you must be born again? God is no respecter of persons. The father cannot save nor answer for the child, or the child for the father; but in the sin thou sinnest thou shalt die; and in the righteousness thou dost, through Christ Jesus, thou shalt live; for it is the willing and obedient that shall eat the good of the land. Be not deceived, God is not mocked; such as all nations and people

sow, such they shall reap at the hand of the just God. And then your many and great privileges above the children of other people, will add weight in the scale against you, if you choose not the way of the Lord. For you have had line upon line, and precept upon precept, and not only good doctrine, but good example; and which is more, you have been turned to, and acquainted with, a principle in yourselves, which others have been ignorant of. And you know you may be as good as you please, without the fear of frowns and blows, or being turned out of doors and forsaken of father and mother for God's sake and his holy religion, as has been the case of some of your fathers, in the day they first entered into this holy path. And if you, after hearing and seeing the wonders that God has wrought in the deliverance and preservation of them, through a sea of troubles, and the manifold temporal, as well as spiritual blessings that he has filled them with, in the sight of their enemies, should neglect and turn your backs upon so great and near a salvation, you would not only be most ungrateful children to God and them, but must expect that God will call the children of those that knew him not, to take the crown out of your hands, and that your lot will be a dreadful judgment at the hand of the Lord. But Oh! that it may never be so with any of you. The Lord forbid, saith my soul.

Wherefore, O ye young men and women! look to the rock of your fathers. There is no other God but him, no other light but his, no other grace but his, nor Spirit but his, to convince you, quicken and comfort you; to lead, guide and preserve you to God's everlasting kingdom. So will you be possessors as well as professors of the truth, embracing it, not only by education, but judgment and conviction; from a sense begotten in your souls, through the operation of the eternal Spirit and power of God; by which you may come to be the seed of Abraham, through faith, and the circumcision not made with hands; and so heirs of the promise made to the fathers, of an incorruptible crown: that, as I said before, a generation you may be to God, holding up the profession of the blessed truth in the life and power of it. For formality in religion is nauseous to God and good men; and the more so, where any form or appearance has been new and peculiar, and begun and practised upon a principle, with an uncommon zeal and strictness. Therefore I say, for you to fall flat and formal, and continue the profession, without that salt and savor by which it is come to obtain a good report among men, is not to answer God's love, or your parents' care, or the mind of truth in yourselves, or in those that are without: who, though they will not obey the truth, have sight and sense enough to see if they do that

make a profession of it. For where the divine virtue of it is not felt in the soul, and waited for and lived in, imperfections will quickly break out, and show themselves, and detect the unfaithfulness of such persons, and that their insides are not seasoned with the nature of that holy principle which they profess.

Wherefore, dear children, let me entreat you to shut your eyes at the temptations and allurements of this low and perishing world, and not suffer your affections to be captivated by those lusts and vanities, that your fathers, for the truth's sake, long since turned their backs upon; but as you believe it to be the truth, receive it into your hearts, that you may become the children of God; so that it may never be said of you, as the Evangelist writes of the Jews in his time, that Christ, the true Light, "came to his own, and his own received him not: but to as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the children of God; which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God;" a most close and comprehensive passage to this occasion. You exactly and peculiarly answer to those professing Jews in that you bear the name of God's people, by being the children, and wearing of the form of God's people. And He, by his light in you, may be very well said to come to his own, and if you obey it

not, but turn your backs upon it, and walk after the vanities of your minds, you will be of those that "received him not;" which I pray God may never be your case and judgment; but that you may be thoroughly sensible of the many and great obligations you lie under to the Lord for his love, and to your parents for their care: and with all your heart, and all your soul, and all your strength, turn to the Lord, to his gift and Spirit in you, and hear his voice and obey it, that you may seal to the testimony of your fathers, by the truth and evidence of your own experience; that your children's children may bless you, and the Lord for you, as those that delivered a faithful example, as well as record of the truth of God unto them. So will the gray hairs of your dear parents, yet alive, go down to the grave with joy, to see you the posterity of truth, as well as theirs, and that not only their nature, but spirit shall live in you when they are gone.

I shall conclude this account with a few words to those that are not of our communion, into whose hands this may come; especially those of our own nation.

Friends, as you are the sons and daughters of Adam, and my brethren after the flesh, often and earnest have been my desires and prayers to God on your behalf, that you may come to know your

Creator to be your Redeemer and Restorer to the holy image, that through sin you have lost, by the power and Spirit of his Son Jesus Christ, whom he hath given for the light and life of the world. And Oh! that you, who are called Christians, would receive him into your hearts! For there it is you want him, and at that door he stands knocking that you might let him in, but you do not open to him. You are full of other guests, so that a manger is his lot among you now, as well as of old. Yet you are full of profession, as were the Jews when he came among them, who knew him not, but rejected and evilly entreated him. So that if you come not to the possession and experience of what you profess, all your formality in religion will stand you in no stead in the day of God's judgment.

I beseech you, ponder with yourselves your eternal condition, and see what title, what ground and foundation you have for your Christianity; if more than a profession, and an historical belief of the Gospel. Have you known the baptism of fire, and the Holy Ghost, and the fan of Christ that winnows away the chaff in your minds, and carnal lusts and affections?—that divine leaven of the kingdom, that, being received, leavens the whole lump of man, sanctifying him throughout in body, soul, and spirit? If this be not the ground of your confidence, you are in a miserable estate.

You will say, perhaps, "That though you are sinners, and live in daily commission of sin, and are not sanctified," as I have been speaking, "yet you have faith in Christ, who has borne the curse for you, and in him you are complete by faith, his righteousness being imputed to you."

But, my Friends, let me entreat you not to deceive yourselves in so important a point as is that of your immortal souls. If you have true faith in Christ, your faith will make you clean: it will sanctify you; for the saints' faith was their victory of old. By this they overcame sin within, and sinful men without. And if thou art in Christ, thou walkest not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, whose fruits are manifest. Yea, thou art a new creature; new made, new fashioned, after God's will and mould. Old things are done away, and behold, all things are become new; new love, desires, will, affections, and practices. It is not any longer thou that livest, thou disobedient, carnal, worldly one; but it is Christ that liveth in thee; and to live is Christ, and to die is thy eternal gain; because thou art assured that thy corruptible shall put on incorruption, and thy mortal, immortality, and that thou hast a glorious house, eternal in the heavens, that will never wax old or pass away. All this follows being in Christ, as heat follows fire, and light the sun.

Therefore have a care how you presume to rely upon such a notion, as that you are in Christ, whilst in your old fallen nature. For what communion hath light with darkness, or Christ with Belial? Hear what the beloved disciple tells you: "If we say we have fellowship with God, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth." That is, if we go on in a sinful way, are captivated by our carnal affections, and are not converted to God, we walk in darkness, and cannot possibly, in that state, have any fellowship with God. Christ clothes them with his righteousness, that receive his grace in their hearts, and deny themselves, and take up his cross daily, and follow him. Christ's righteousness makes men inwardly holy; of holy minds, wills, and practices. It is not the less Christ's, because we have it; for it is ours, not by nature, but by faith and adoption. It is the gift of God. But still, though not ours, as of or from ourselves, (for in that sense it is Christ's, for it is of and from him,) yet it is ours, and must be ours in possession, efficacy and enjoyment, to do us any good; or Christ's righteousness will profit us nothing. It was after this manner that he was made, to the primitive Christians, righteousness, sanctification, justification and redemption; and if ever you will have the comfort, kernel and marrow of the Christian religion, thus you must come to learn and obtain it.

Now, my friends, by what you have read, you may perceive that God has visited a poor people among you with this saving knowledge and testimony: whom he has upheld and increased to this day, notwithstanding the fierce opposition they have met withal. Despise not the meanness of this appearance. It was, and yet is (we know) a day of small things, and of small account with too many; and many hard and ill names are given to it. But it is of God, it came from him because it leads to him. This we know, but we cannot make another to know it, unless he will take the same way to know it that we took. The World talks of God, but what do they do? They pray for power, but reject the principle in which it is. If you would know God, and worship and serve God as you should do, you must come to the means he has ordained and given for that purpose. Some seek it in books, some in learned men; but what they look for is in themselves, though not of themselves; but they overlook it. The voice is too still, the seed too small, and the light shineth in darkness. They are abroad, and so cannot divide the spoil. But the woman that lost her silver, found it at home, after she had lighted her candle and swept her house. Do you so too, and you shall find what Pilate wanted to know, viz. *Truth*: truth in the inward parts, so valuable in the sight of God.

The light of Christ within, who is the light of the world, (and so a light to you, that tells you the truth of your condition,) leads all, that take heed unto it, out of darkness into God's marvellous light. For light grows upon the obedient; it is "sown for the righteous," and their way is a shining light, that shines forth more and more to the perfect day.

Wherefore, O friends, turn in, turn in, I beseech you. Where is the poison, there is the antidote: there you want Christ, and there you must find him; and blessed be God, there you may find him. Seek and you shall find, I testify for God. But then you must seek aright, with your whole heart, as men that seek for their lives, yea, for their eternal lives, diligently, humbly, patiently, as those that can taste no pleasure, comfort or satisfaction, in any thing else, unless you find him whom your souls desire to know and love above all. Oh! it is a travail, a spiritual travail, let the carnal, profane world, think and say as it will. And through this path you must walk to the city of God, that has eternal foundations, if ever you will come there.

Well! and what does this blessed light do for you? Why, first, it sets all your sins in order before you: it detects the spirit of this world in all its baits and allurements, and shows how man came to fall from God, and the fallen estate he is in. Secondly, it

begets a sense and sorrow, in such as believe in it, for this fearful lapse. You will then see Him distinctly whom you have pierced, and all the blows and wounds you have given him by your disobedience, and how you have made him to serve with your sins; and you will weep and mourn for it, and your sorrow will be a godly sorrow. Thirdly, after this it will bring you to the holy watch, to take care that you do so no more, and that the enemy surprise you not again. Then thoughts, as well as words, and works, will come to judgment; which is the way of holiness, in which the redeemed of the Lord do walk. Here you will come to love God above all, and your neighbours as yourselves. Nothing hurts, nothing harms, nothing makes afraid on this holy mountain. Now you come to be Christ's indeed; for you are his in nature and spirit, and not your own. And when you are thus Christ's, then Christ's is yours, and not before. And here communion with the Father, and with the Son you will know, and the efficacy of the blood of cleansing, even the blood of Jesus Christ, that immaculate Lamb, which speaks better things than the blood of Abel; and which cleanseth from all sin the consciences of those that through the living faith, come to be sprinkled with it, from dead works, to serve the living God.

To conclude, behold the testimony and doctrine

of the people called Quakers! Behold their practice and discipline! And behold the blessed man and men (at least many of them,) that were sent of God in this excellent work and service! All which is more particularly expressed in the Annals of that man of God, which I do heartily recommend to my reader's most serious perusal; and beseech Almighty God, that his blessing may go along with both to the convincement of many, as yet strangers to this holy dispensation; and also to the edification of God's church in general: who for his manifold and repeated mercies and blessings to his people in this day of his great love, is worthy ever to have the glory, honour, thanksgiving, and renown; and be it rendered and ascribed with fear and reverence, through him in whom he is well pleased, his beloved Son and Lamb, our light and life, that sits with him upon the throne, world without end. Amen.

Says one that God has long since mercifully favoured with his fatherly visitation, and who was not disobedient to the heavenly vision and call; to whom the way of truth is more lovely and precious than ever, and who, knowing the beauty and benefit of it above all worldly treasures, has chosen it for his chiefest joy; and therefore recommends it to thy love and choice, because he is with great sincerity and affection,

Thy Soul's Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

THE

SANDY FOUNDATION SHAKEN:

OR,

THOSE SO GENERALLY BELIEVED AND APPLAUDED

DOCTRINES,

OF

ONE GOD, SUBSISTING IN THREE DISTINCT
AND SEPARATE PERSONS,

THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF GOD'S PARDONING SINNERS,
WITHOUT A PLENARY SATISFACTION,

THE JUSTIFICATION OF IMPURE PERSONS, BY AN
IMPUTATIVE RIGHTEOUSNESS,

REFUTED,

FROM THE AUTHORITY OF SCRIPTURE TESTIMONIES AND RIGHT REASON.

BY WILLIAM PENN,

A builder on that foundation which cannot be moved.

PHILADELPHIA:
T. ELLWOOD CHAPMAN,
NO. 1 SOUTH FIFTH STREET.
1855.

P R E F A C E .

ALTHOUGH this treatise has been frequently published, it has been deemed advisable to present it in connexion with the "Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers," for the information of members of our Society, as well as others who may desire information on the important subject of which it treats.

The following is extracted from the Preface of the first edition, which was published in 1688.

To the Unprejudiced Reader.

It was the fault of some in ancient times, that they made void God's law by men's traditions, and certainly I may now assume the same complaint; for whilst I take a serious prospect of the spiritual nature and tendency of the second covenant which God Almighty, in the fulness of time, by his Prophets, prophesied to make and perfect; and also the accomplishment thereof by Jesus Christ, and what was brought to pass amongst these primitive believers, I do not only see an utter abolishment of

ceremonial worship but the inscribing that spiritual law on the heart, and infusion of holy fear to the inward parts, whereby each person became capacitated to know so much of God, as suited with his present state, from an infallible demonstration, in himself, and not on the slender ground of men's lo-here—interpretations, or lo-there ; for the kingdom of God is within, where himself must be the teacher of his people ; but on the other hand, when from the noise of every party's pretensions to, and contentions for their own way, as most infallible, I am induced to an impartial examination of them. Alas! how have all adulterated from the purity both of Scripture record and primitive example; receiving for unquestionable doctrines, the fallible apprehensions, and uncertain determinations of such councils, whose factions, prejudice, and cruelty, soon paralleled the foregoing heathenish persecutions; and yet that the results of persons so incompetently qualified, should at this day in their authority remain unquestioned by the Nations, is matter both of astonishment and pity; but an implicit faith has ever been the consequence of ignorance, idleness and fear, being strong impediments to a judicious inquiry, how far professed and imposed opinions have their consistency with reason, and the true religion. But that which most of all deserves a lamentation, is that Protestants, whose better arguments have confuted the plea of

such as made Tradition and men's prescriptions unquestionable in circumstantials, should themselves by print and practice so openly declare and contend for its authority in essentials; as must be obvious to any that observe their zealous Anathemas against whomsoever refused a compliance with them in doctrines, manifestly bottomed upon men's nice inventions.

This is the right state of the controversy that is maintained by us against the world, and the undoubted reason of our severe treatment at its hands, the end of God Almighty's raising us, being for no other purpose than to declare that *which our eyes have seen, our ears heard, and which our hands have handled of the Eternal Word*, in opposition to the private opinions, conjectures, and interpretations of men concerning God and religion, that all people might thereby be reduced to faith in, and obedience to the universal *grace which brings salvation*; which as it only can restore sound judgment, concerning God, and effect redemption from iniquity, so its being relinquished by men, was the very ground both of their division in judgment, and corruption in manners.

And what remains, is to inform thee, reader, that with great brevity I have discussed and endeavoured a total enervation of those cardinal points, and chief

doctrines, so firmly believed and continually imposed for articles of Christian faith:

1. The Trinity of separate persons, in the unity of Essence.

2. God's incapacity to forgive without the fullest satisfaction paid him by another.

3. A justification of impure persons, from an imputative righteousness, which principles, let me tell thee, reader, are not more repugnant to Scriptures, reason, and soul-security, than most destructive to God's honour, in his unity, mercy and purity.

Therefore I beseech thee to exterminate passion from her predominancy, in the perusal of this abridged discourse, since it was written in love to thee, that whilst it is thy desire to know, love and fear God Almighty above men's precepts, thou mayest not miss so good an end, by the blind embraces of Tradition for truth, but in the nobility of a true *Berean*, search and inquire; letting the good old verity, not a pretended Antiquity, (whilst a mere novelty;) and solid reason, nor an ever-fond credulity, sway the balance of thy judgment, that both stability and certainty may accompany thy determinations.

W. P.

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THE TRINITY OF DISTINCT AND SEPARATE PERSONS,
IN THE UNITY OF ESSENCE, REFUTED FROM SCRIPTURE.

AND he said, "Lord God, there is no God like unto thee." (1 Kings viii. 24.)—"To whom then will ye liken me, or shall I be equal, saith the Holy One?" (Isa. xl. 25.) "I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God besides me." (Isa. xlv. 5, 6.) "Thus saith the Lord thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel." (Isa. xlvi. 17.) "I will also praise thee, O my God; unto thee will I sing, O Holy One of Israel." (Psalm lxxi. 22.) "Jehovah shall be One, and his name One." (Zac. xiv. 9.) Which, with a cloud of other testimonies that might be urged, evidently demonstrate, that in the days of the first covenant, and Prophets, but One was the Holy God, and God but that Holy One.—Again: "And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? There is none good but One, that is, God." (Matthew xix. 17.) "And this is life eternal, that

they might know thee (Father) the only true God." (John xvii. 3.) "Seeing it is one God that shall justify." (Rom. iii. 30.) "There be gods many—but unto us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things." (1 Cor. viii. 6.) "One God and Father who is above all things." (Eph. iv. 6.) "For there is one God." (1 Tim. ii. 5.) "To the only wise God be glory now and ever." (Jude ver. 25.) From all which I shall lay down this one assertion, that the testimonies of Scripture, both under the law, and since the Gospel dispensation, declare One to be God, and God to be One, on which I shall raise this argument:

If God, as the Scriptures testify, hath never been declared or believed, but as the Holy One, then will it follow, that God is not a Holy Three, nor doth subsist in three distinct and separate Holy Ones. But the before-cited Scriptures undeniably prove that One is God, and God only is that Holy One. Therefore he cannot be divided into, or subsist in a Holy Three, or Three distinct and separate Holy Ones—Neither can this receive the least prejudice from that frequent, but impertinent distinction, that he is one in substance, but three in persons or subsistences; since God was not declared or believed incompletely, or without his subsistence: nor did he require homage from his creatures, as an incomplete or abstracted being, but as God the Holy One: For

so he should be manifested and worshipped without that which was absolutely necessary to himself. So that either the testimonies of the afore-mentioned Scriptures are to be believed concerning God, that he is entirely and completely, not abstractly and distinctly, the Holy One, or else their authority to be denied by these Trinitarians. And on the contrary, if they pretend to credit those holy testimonies, they must necessarily conclude their kind of trinity a fiction.

Refuted from Right Reason.

1. If there be three distinct and separate persons, then three distinct and separate substances, because every person is inseparable from its own substance. And as there is no person that is not a substance, in common acceptation among men, so do the Scriptures plentifully agree herein: And since the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Spirit is God, (which their opinion necessitates them to confess,) then unless the Father, Son, and Spirit are three distinct nothings, they must be three distinct substances, and consequently, three distinct Gods.

2. It is farther proved, if it be considered, that either the divine persons are finite or infinite. If the first, then something finite is inseparable to the infinite substance, whereby something finite is in

God: if the last, then three distinct Infinities, three Omnipotents, three Eternals, and so three Gods.

3. If each person be God, and that God subsists in three persons, then in each person are three persons or Gods, and from three they will increase to nine, and so *ad infinitum*.

4. But if they shall deny the three persons or subsistences to be infinite, (for so there would unavoidably be three Gods,) it will follow that they must be finite, and so the absurdity is not abated from what it was; for that of one substance having three subsistences, is not greater, than that an infinite being should have three finite modes of subsisting. But though that mode which is finite cannot answer to a substance that is infinite; yet to try if we can make their principle to consist, let us conceive that three persons, which may be finite separately, make up an infinite conjunctly: however this will follow, that they are no more incommunicable or separate, nor properly subsistences, but a subsistence; for the infinite substance cannot find a bottom or subsistence in any one or two, therefore jointly. And here I am also willing to overlook finiteness in the Father, Son, and Spirit, which this doctrine must suppose.

5. Again, if these three distinct persons are one, with some one thing, as they say they are with the Godhead, then are not they incommunicable among

themselves; but so much the contrary, as to be one in the place of another. For if that the only God is the Father, and Christ be that only God, then is Christ the Father. So if that one God be the Son, and the Spirit that one God, then is the Spirit the Son, and so round. Nor is it possible to stop, or that it should be otherwise, since if the divine nature be inseparable from the three persons, or communicated to each, and each person have the whole divine nature, then is the Son in the Father, and the Spirit in the Son; unless that the Godhead be as incommunicable to the persons, as they are reported to be amongst themselves: or that the three persons have distinctly allotted them such a proportion of the divine nature, as is not communicable to each other; which is alike absurd. Much more might be said to manifest the gross contradiction of this trinitarian doctrine, as vulgarly received; but I must be brief.

Information and Caution.

Before I shall conclude this head, it is requisite I should inform thee, reader, concerning its original. Thou mayst assure thyself, it is not from the Scriptures, nor reason, since so expressly repugnant; although all broachers of their own inventions strongly endeavour to reconcile them with that holy record. Know then, my friend, it was

born above three hundred years after the ancient gospel was declared; and that through the nice distinctions and too daring curiosity of the bishop of Alexandria, who being opposed by Arius, their zeal so reciprocally blew the fire of contention, animosity, and persecution, till at last they sacrificed each other to their mutual revenge.

Thus it was conceived in ignorance, and brought forth and maintained by cruelty. For though he that was strongest imposed his opinion, persecuting the contrary, yet the scale turning on the Trinitarian side, it has there continued through all the Romish generations. And notwithstanding it hath obtained the name of Athanasian from Athanasius, (a stiff man, witness his carriage towards Constantine the emperor,) because supposed to have been most concerned in the framing that creed in which this doctrine is asserted; yet have I never seen one copy void of a suspicion, rather to have been the results of popish school-men; which I could render more perspicuous, did not brevity necessitate me to an omission.

Be therefore cautioned, reader, not to embrace the determination of prejudiced councils, for evangelical doctrine; which the scriptures bear no certain testimony to; neither was believed by the primitive saints, nor thus stated by any I have read of, in the first, second, or third centuries: particularly

Ireneus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, Theophilus, with many others who appear wholly foreign to the matter in controversy. But seeing that private spirits, and those none of the most ingenuous, have been the parents and guardians of this so generally received doctrine; let the time past suffice, and be admonished to apply thy mind unto that light and grace which brings salvation; that by obedience thereunto, those mists tradition hath cast before thy eyes, may be expelled, and thou receive a certain knowledge of that God, whom to know is life eternal, not to be divided, but one pure, entire, and eternal being; who in the fulness of time sent forth his Son, as the true light which enlighteneth every man; that whosoever followed him, (the Light,) might be translated from the dark notions, and vain conversations of men, to this holy Light, in which only sound judgment and eternal life are obtainable: who so many hundred years since, in person testified the virtue of it, and has communicated unto all such a proportion, as may enable them to follow his example.

THE VULGAR DOCTRINE OF SATISFACTION, BEING
DEPENDENT ON THE SECOND PERSON OF THE
TRINITY, REFUTED FROM SCRIPTURE.

DOCTRINE. "That man having transgressed the righteous law of God, and so exposed to the penalty of eternal wrath, it is altogether impossible for God to remit or forgive without a plenary satisfaction; and that there was no other way by which God could obtain satisfaction, or save men, than by inflicting the penalty of infinite wrath and vengeance on Jesus Christ, the second person of the Trinity, who for sins past, present, and to come, hath wholly borne and paid it, (whether for all, or but some,) to the offended infinite justice of his Father."

REFUTATION. 1. "And the Lord passed by before him, (Moses,) and proclaimed, The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin." (Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7.) From whence I shall draw this position, that since God has proclaimed himself a gracious, merciful, and forgiving God, it is not inconsistent with his nature to remit, without any other consideration than his own love. Otherwise he could not justly come under the imputation of so many gracious attributes, with whom it is impossible to pardon, and necessary to exact the payment of the utmost farthing.

2. "For if ye turn again to the Lord, the Lord your God is gracious and merciful, and will not turn away his face from you." (2 Chron. xxx. 9.) Where, how natural is it to observe that God's remission is grounded on their repentance; and not that it is impossible for God to pardon, without plenary satisfaction, since the possibility, nay certainty of the contrary, viz. his grace and mercy, is the great motive or reason, of that loving invitation to return.

3. "They hardened their necks, and hearkened not to thy commandments; but thou art a God ready to pardon, gracious and merciful." (Neh. ix. 16, 17.) Can the honest-hearted reader conceive, that God should be thus mercifully qualified, whilst executing the rigour of the law transgressed, or not acquitting without the debt be paid him by another? I suppose not.

4. "Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon." (Isa. lv. 7.) Come, let the unprejudiced judge, if this scripture doctrine is not very remote from saying his nature cannot forgive sin, therefore let Christ pay him full satisfaction, or he will certainly be avenged; which is the substance of that strange opinion.

5. "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel; I will put my law in their inward parts; I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." (Jer. xxxi. 32, 33, 34.) Here is God's mere grace asserted, against the pretended necessity of a satisfaction to procure his remission. And this Paul acknowledgeth to be the dispensation of the gospel, in his eighth chapter to the Hebrews. So that this new doctrine, doth not only contradict the nature and design of the second covenant, but seems, in short, to discharge God, both from his mercy and omnipotence.

6. "Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? He retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy." (Micah vii. 18.) Can there be a more express passage to clear, not only the possibility, but real inclination of God to pardon sin, and not "retain his anger for ever;" since the prophet seems to challenge all other gods, to try their excellency by his God; herein describing the supremacy of his power, and super-excellency of his nature, "that he pardoneth iniquity, and retaineth not his anger for ever." So that if the satisfactionists should ask the question, who is a God like unto ours, that cannot pardon iniquity, nor pass by transgression,

but retaineth his anger until somebody make him satisfaction? I answer, many among the harsh and severe rulers of the nation; but as for my God, He is exalted above them all, upon the throne of his mercy, "who pardoneth iniquity, and retaineth not his anger for ever, but will have compassion upon us."

7. "And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." (Matt. vi. 12.) Where nothing can be more obvious, than that which is forgiven, is not paid. And if it is our duty to forgive our debtors, without a satisfaction received, and that God is to forgive us, as we forgive them, then is a satisfaction totally excluded. Christ farther paraphrases upon that part of his prayer, ver. 14: "For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you." Where he as well argues the equity of God's forgiving them, from their forgiving others, as he encourages them to forgive others, from the example of God's mercy, in forgiving them. Which is more amply expressed, Chap. xviii., where the kingdom of heaven (that consists in righteousness) is represented by a king, who, upon his debtor's petition, had compassion, and forgave him; but the same treating his fellow-servant without the least forbearance, the king condemned his unrighteousness, and delivered him over to the tormentors. But how had this been a fault in the servant, if his king's mercy had not

been proposed for his example? How most unworthy, therefore, is it of God, and blasphemous, may I justly term it, for any to dare to assert that forgiveness is impossible to God which is not only possible, but enjoined to men.

8. "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." (John iii. 16.) By which it appears, that God's love is not the effect of Christ's satisfaction, but Christ is the proper gift and effect of God's love.

9. "To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name, whosoever believeth in him, shall receive remission of sins." (Acts x. 43.) So that remission came by believing his testimony, and obeying his precepts, and not by a pretended satisfaction.

10. "If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all."—(Romans viii. 31, 32.) Which evidently declares it to be God's act of love, otherwise, if he must be paid, he should be at the charge of his own satisfaction, for he delivered up the Son.

11. "And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation, to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, not

imputing their trespasses unto them." (2 Cor v. 18, 19.) How undeniably apparent is it, that God is so far from standing off in high displeasure, and upon his own terms, contracting with his Son for satisfaction, as being otherwise incapable to be reconciled, that he became himself the reconciler by Christ, and afterwards by the apostles, his ambassadors, to whom was committed the ministry of reconciliation.

12. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace."—(Eph. i. 7.) Now what relation satisfaction has to forgiveness of sins, or how any can construe grace, to be strict justice, the meanest understanding may determine.

13. "But the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus." (1 Pet. v. 19.) He does not say that God's justice, in consideration of Christ's satisfaction, acquitted us from sins past, present, and to come, and therefore hath called us to his eternal glory; but from his grace.

14. "In this was manifest the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him." (1 John iv. 9.) Which plainly attributes Christ in his doctrine, life, miracles, death, and sufferings, to God, as the gift and expression of his eternal love, for the salvation of men.

1. In abolishing that other covenant, which consisted in external and shadowy ordinances, and that made none clean as concerning the conscience.

2. In promulgating his message, of a most free and universal tender of life and salvation, unto all that believed and followed him, (the light) in all his righteousness, the very end of his appearance being to destroy the works of the devil, and which every man only comes to experience, as he walks in a holy subjection to that measure of light and grace, wherewith the fulness hath enlightened him.

3. In seconding his doctrines with signs, miracles, and a most innocent self-denying life.

4. In ratifying and confirming all, (with great love and holy resignation,) by the offering up of his body, to be crucified by wicked hands: who is now ascended far above all heavens, and is thereby become a most complete captain, and perfect example.

So that I can by no means conclude, but openly declare, that the scriptures of truth, are not only silent in reference to this doctrine of *satisfaction*, but that it is altogether inconsistent with the dignity of God, and every way repugnant to the conditions, nature, and tendency of that second covenant, concerning which their testimony is so clear.

The absurdities that unavoidably follow the comparison of this doctrine with the sense of Scripture.

1. That God is gracious to forgive, and yet it is impossible for Him, unless the debt be fully satisfied.

2. That the finite and impotent creature is more capable of extending mercy and forgiveness, than the infinite and omnipotent Creator.

3. "That God so loved the world, he gave his only Son to save it;" and yet that God stood off in high displeasure, and Christ gave himself to God as a complete satisfaction to his offended justice: with many more such like gross consequences that might be drawn.

Refuted from right reason.

But if we should grant a scripture-silence, as to the necessity of Christ's so satisfying his Father's justice; yet so manifest would be the contradictions, and foul the repugnances to right reason, that he who had not veiled his understanding with the dark suggestions of unwarrantable tradition, or contracted his judgment to the implicit apprehensions of some overvalued acquaintance, might with great facility discriminate to a full resolve in this point. For admitting God to be a creditor, or he to whom the debt should be paid, and Christ he that satisfies or

pays it on the behalf of man, the debtor, this question will arise, whether he paid that debt, as God, or man, or both? (to use their own terms.)

Not as God.

1. In that it divides the unity of the Godhead, by two distinct acts, of being offended, and not offended; of condemning justice and redeeming mercy; of requiring a satisfaction, and then making it.

2. Because, if Christ pays the debt as God, then the Father and the Spirit being God, they also pay the debt.

3. Since God is to be satisfied, and that Christ is God, he consequently is to be satisfied; and who shall satisfy his infinite justice?

4. But if Christ has satisfied God the Father, Christ being also God, it will follow then, that he has satisfied himself, (which cannot be.)

5. But since God the Father was once to be satisfied, and that it is impossible that he should do it himself, nor yet the Son or Spirit, because the same God; it naturally follows that the debt remains unpaid, and these satisfactionists thus far are still at loss.

Not as man.

6. The justice offended being infinite, his satisfaction ought to bear a proportion therewith, which

Jesus Christ, as man, could never pay, he being finite, and from a finite cause could not proceed an infinite effect; for so man may be said to bring forth God, since nothing below the divinity itself, can rightly be styled infinite.

Not as God and man.

7. For where two mediums, or middle propositions are singly inconsistent with the nature of the end, for which they were at first propounded, their conjunction does rather augment, than lessen the difficulty of its accomplishment; and this, I am persuaded, must be obvious to every unbiassed understanding.

But admitting one of these three mediums possible for the payment of an infinite debt; yet, pray observe the most unworthy and ridiculous consequences, that unavoidably will attend the impossibility of God's pardoning sinners without a satisfaction.

Consequences Irreligious and Irrational.

1. That it is unlawful and impossible for God Almighty to be gracious and merciful, or to pardon transgressors; than which, what is more unworthy of God?

2. That God was inevitably compelled to this

way of saving men; the highest affront to his uncontrollable nature.

3. That it was unworthy of God to pardon, but not to inflict punishment on the innocent, or require a satisfaction where there was nothing due.

4. It doth not only dis-acknowledge the true virtue and real intent of Christ's life and death, but entirely deprives God of that praise which is owing to his greatest love and goodness.

5. It represents the Son more kind and compassionate than the Father; whereas, if both be the same God, then either the Father is as loving as the Son, or the Son as angry as the Father.

6. It robs God of the gift of his Son for our redemption, [which the scriptures attribute to the unmerited love he had for the world,] in affirming the Son purchased that redemption from the Father, by the gift of himself to God, as our complete satisfaction.

7. Since Christ could not pay what was not his own, it follows, that in the payment of his own, the case still remains equally grievous; since the debt is not hereby absolved or forgiven, but transferred only; and by consequences, we are no better provided for salvation than before, owing that now to the Son, which was once owing to the Father.

8. It no way renders man beholding, or in the

least obliged to God, since, by their doctrine, he would not have abated us, nor did he Christ, the least farthing, so that the acknowledgments are peculiarly the Son's; which destroys the whole current of scripture testimony, for his good will towards men. Oh, the infamous portraiture this doctrine draws, of the infinite goodness! Is this your retribution, *O, injurious satisfactionists?*

9. That God's justice is satisfied for sins past, present, and to come; whereby God and Christ have lost both their power of enjoining Godliness, and prerogative of punishing disobedience. For what is once paid, is not revokable; and if punishment should arrest any for their debts, it either argues a breach on God's, or Christ's part, or else that it has not been sufficiently solved, and the penalty completely sustained, by another; forgetting, "that every one must appear before the judgment seat of Christ, to receive according to the things done in the body." [Rom. xiv. 12.] Yea, "every one must give an account of himself to God." [2 Cor. xv. 10.] But many more are the gross absurdities and blasphemies that are the genuine fruits of this so confidently believed *doctrine of satisfaction*.

A CAUTION.

Let me advise, nay, warn thee, reader, by no means to admit an entertainment of this principle,

by whomsoever recommended; since it does not only divest the glorious God of His sovereign power, both to pardon and punish, but as certainly insinuates a licentiousness, at least a liberty that unbecomes the nature of that ancient Gospel once preached among the primitive saints, and that from an apprehension of a satisfaction once paid for all. Whereas, I must tell thee, that unless thou seriously repent, and no more grieve God's holy Spirit, placed in thy inmost parts, but art thereby taught to deny all ungodliness, and led into all righteousness, at the tribunal of the great Judge thy plea shall prove invalid, and thou receive thy reward without respect to any other thing than the deeds done in the body. "Be not deceived, God will not be mocked; such as thou sowest, such shalt thou reap." (Gal. vi. 7.) Which leads me to the consideration of my third head, viz. *Justification by an Imputative Righteousness.*

THE JUSTIFICATION OF IMPURE PERSONS, BY AN
 IMPUTATIVE RIGHTEOUSNESS, REFUTED FROM
 SCRIPTURE.

DOCTRINE. "That there is no other way for sinners to be justified in the sight of God, than by the imputation of that righteousness of Christ, long since performed personally; and that sanctification is consequential, not antecedent."

REFUTATION 1. "Keep thee far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous slay thou not; for I will not justify the wicked." (Ex. xxiii. 7.) Whereon I ground this argument, that since God has prescribed an inoffensive life, as that which can only give acceptance with him, and on the contrary hath determined never to justify the wicked, then will it necessarily follow, that unless this so much believed *Imputative Righteousness*, had that effectual influence, as to regenerate and redeem the soul from sin, on which the malediction lies, he has as far to seek for justification as before.—For whilst a person is really guilty of a false matter, I positively assert from the authority and force of this scripture, he cannot be in a state of justification. And as God will not justify the wicked, so by the acknowledged reason of contraries, the just he will never condemn, but they, and they only, are the justified of God.

2. "He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are an abomination to the Lord." (Prov. xvii. 15.) It would very opportunely be observed, that if it is so great an abomination in men to justify the wicked and condemn the just, how much greater would it be in God, which this doctrine of *imputative righteousness* necessarily does imply, that so far disengages God from the person justified, as that his guilt shall

not condemn him, nor his innocency justify him? But will not the abomination appear greatest of all, when God shall be found condemning of the just, on purpose to justify the wicked, and that he is thereto compelled, or else no salvation; which is the tendency of their doctrine, who imagine the righteous and merciful God, to condemn and punish His innocent Son, that he having satisfied for our sins, we might be justified (whilst unsanctified) by the imputation of His perfect righteousness. Oh! why should this horrible thing be contended for by Christians?

3. "The son shall not bear the iniquity of his father; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him. When a righteous man turneth away from his righteousness, for his iniquity that he hath done shall he die." Again: "When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive: yet saith the house of Israel, the ways of the Lord are not equal: Are not my ways equal?" (Ezek. xviii. 20, 26, 27, 28.)—If this was once equal, it is so still, for God is unchangeable:—and therefore I shall draw this argument, that the condemnation or justification of persons, *is not from the imputation of another's righteousness, but the actual performance and keeping of God's right-*

eous statutes or commandments; otherwise, God should forget to be equal. Therefore how wickedly unequal are those, who *not from scripture evidences*, but their own dark conjectures and interpretations of *obscure passages*, would frame a doctrine so manifestly inconsistent with God's most pure and equal nature; making him to condemn the righteous to death, and justify the wicked to life, from the imputation of another's righteousness: a most unequal way indeed.

4. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father." "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man which built his house upon a rock," &c. (Matt. vii. 21, 24, 25.) How very fruitful are the scriptures of truth, in testimonies against this absurd and dangerous doctrine. These words seem to import a two-fold righteousness; the first consists in sacrifice, the last in obedience: the one makes a *talking*, the other a *doing* Christian. I, in short, argue thus: if none can enter into the kingdom of heaven, but they that do the Father's will, then none are justified, but they who do the Father's will, because none can enter into the kingdom but such as are justified. Since therefore there can be no admittance had, without performing that righteous will, and doing those holy

and perfect sayings; alas! to what value will an *imputative righteousness* amount, when a poor soul shall awake polluted in his sin, by the hasty calls of death, to make its appearance before the judgment seat, where it is impossible to justify the wicked, or that any should escape uncondemned, but such as do the will of God.

5. "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love, even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love." (John xv. 10.) From whence this argument doth naturally arise. If none are truly justified that abide not in Christ's love, and that none abide in his love who keep not his commandments, then consequently, none are justified but such as keep his commandments. Besides, here is the most palpable opposition to an *imputative righteousness* that may be; for Christ is so far from telling them of such a way of being justified, that he informs them the reason why he abode in his Father's love, was his obedience; and is so far from telling them of their being justified, whilst not abiding in his love, by virtue of his obedience imputed unto them, that unless they keep his commands, and obey for themselves, they shall be so remote from an acceptance, as wholly to be cast out;—in all which Christ is our example.

6. "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." (John xv. 14.) We have almost

here the very words, but altogether the same matter, which affords us thus much, without being Christ's friends there is no being justified. But unless we keep his commandments, it is impossible we should be his friends; it therefore necessarily follows, that except we keep his commandments, there is no being justified. Or, in short, thus: if the way to be a friend is to keep the commandments, then the way to be justified is to keep the commandments, because none can obtain the quality of a friend, and remain unjustified, or be truly justified whilst an enemy, which he certainly is that keeps not his commandments.

7. "For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified." (Rom. ii. 13.) From whence how unanswerably may I observe, unless we become doers of that law, which Christ came not to destroy, but as our example, to fulfil, we can never be justified before God. Wherefore obedience is so absolutely necessary, that short of it there can be no acceptance. Nor let any fancy that Christ hath so fulfilled it for them, as to exclude their obedience from being requisite to their acceptance, but as their pattern; "For unless ye follow me, (saith Christ,) ye cannot be my disciples:" and it is not only repugnant to reason, but in this place particularly refuted: for if Christ had fulfilled it on our behalf

and we not enabled to follow his example, there would not be doers, but one doer only of the law justified before God. In short, if without obedience to the righteous law none can be justified, then all our hearing of the law, with but the mere imputation of another's righteousness, whilst we are actually breakers of it, is excluded, as not justifying before God. If you fulfil the royal law, ye do well; so speak ye, and so do ye, as they that shall be judged thereby.

8. "If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." (Rom. viii. 13.) No man can be dead, and justified before God, for so he may be justified that lives after the flesh: therefore they only can be justified that are alive. From whence this follows: if the living are justified and not the dead, and that none can live to God but such as have mortified the deeds of the body through the Spirit, then none can be justified but they who have mortified the deeds of the body through the Spirit. So that justification does not go before, but is subsequential to the mortification of lusts, and sanctification of the soul, through the Spirit's operation.

9. "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." (Rom. viii. 14.) How clearly will it appear, to any but a cavilling and tenacious spirit, that man can be no farther justified, than

as he becomes obedient to the Spirit's leadings; for if none can be a Son of God, but he that is led by the Spirit of God, then none can be justified without being led by the Spirit of God, because none can be justified but he that is a son of God. So that the way to justification and sonship, is through obedience to the Spirit's leadings, that is, manifesting the holy fruits thereof by an innocent life and conversation.

10. "But let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another." "Be not deceived, for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap." (Gal. vi. 4, 7.) If rejoicing and acceptance with God, or the contrary, are to be reaped from the work that a man soweth, either to the flesh or to the spirit, then is the doctrine of acceptance, and ground of rejoicing, from the works of another, utterly excluded, every man reaping according to what he hath sown, and bearing his own burden.

11. "Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he had offered Isaac his son upon the altar? Ye see, then, how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only." (Jam. ii. 21, 24.) He that will seriously peruse this chapter, shall doubtless find some, to whom this epistle was wrote, of the same spirit with the satisfactionists and imputarians of our time: they fain would have found out a justification from faith in and the imputation

of another's righteousness. But James, an Apostle of the Most High God, who experimentally knew what true faith and justification meant, gave them to understand, from Abraham's self-denying example, that unless their faith in the purity and power of God's grace had that effectual operation to subdue every beloved lust, wean from every Delilah, and entirely to resign and sacrifice Isaac himself, their faith was a fable, or as a body without a spirit. And as righteousness, therefore, in one person cannot justify another from unrighteousness, so whoever now pretend to be justified by faith, whilst not led and guided by the Spirit into all the ways of truth, and works of righteousness, their faith they will find at last a fiction.

12. "Little children, let no man deceive you, he that doeth righteousness, is righteous, as God is righteous; (but) he that committeth sin is of the devil." (1 John iii. 7, 8.) From whence it may be very clearly argued, that none can be in a state of justification, from the righteousness performed by another imputed unto them, but as they are actually redeemed from the commission of sin. For, if "he that committeth sin is of the devil," then cannot any be justified completely before God, who is so incompletely redeemed, as yet to be under the captivity of lust, since then the devil's seed, or offspring, may be justified; but that is impossible. It there-

fore follows, that as he who doeth righteousness, is righteous, as God is righteous; so no farther is he like God, or justifiable. For in whatsoever he derogates from the works of that faith, which is held in a pure conscience, he is no longer righteous or justified, but under condemnation as a transgressor, or disobedient person, to the righteous commandment. And if any would obtain the true state of justification, let them circumspectly observe the holy guidings and instructions of that unction, to which the apostle recommended the ancient churches, that thereby they may be led out of all ungodliness, into truth and holiness; so shall they find acceptance with the Lord, who has determined "never to justify the wicked."

Refuted from Right Reason.

1. Because it is impossible for God to justify that which is both opposite and destructive to the purity of his own nature, as this doctrine necessarily obliges him to do in accepting the wicked, as not such, from the imputation of another's righteousness.

2. Since man was justified before God, whilst in his native innocency, and never condemned, till he had erred from that pure state; he never can be justified, whilst in the frequent commission of that for which the condemnation came. Therefore, to be justified, his redemption must be as entire as his fall.

3. Because sin came not by imputation, but actual transgression; for God did not condemn his creature for what he did not, but what he did; therefore must the righteousness be as personal for acceptance, otherwise these two things will necessarily follow: 1st, That he may be actually a sinner, and yet not under the curse. 2nd, That the power of the first Adam to death, was more prevalent than the power of the second Adam to life.

4. It is therefore contrary to sound reason, that if actual sinning brought death and condemnation, any thing besides actual obedience unto righteousness, should bring life and justification. For death and life, condemnation and justification, being vastly opposite, no man can be actually dead, and imputatively alive. Therefore this doctrine, so much contended for, carries this gross absurdity with it, that a man may be actually sinful, yet imputatively righteous; actually judged and condemned, yet imputatively justified and glorified. In short, he may actually be damned, and yet imputatively saved; otherwise it must be acknowledged, that obedience to justification ought to be as personally extensive, as was disobedience to condemnation. In which real not imputative sense, those various terms of sanctification, righteousness, resurrection, life, redemption, justification, &c., are most infallibly to be understood.

5. Nor are those words, impute, imputed, imputeth, imputing, used in scripture by way of opposition to that which is actual and inherent, as the assertors of an imputative righteousness do by their doctrine plainly intimate; but so much the contrary, as that they are never mentioned, but to express men really and personally to be that which is imputed to them, whether as guilty, as remitted, or as righteous. For instance: "What man soever of the house of Israel, that killeth an ox, and bringeth it not to the door of the tabernacle, to offer unto the Lord, blood shall be imputed unto that man," or charged upon him as guilty thereof. (Lev. xvii. 4.) "And Shimei said unto the king, Let not my lord impute iniquity unto me, for thy servant doth know that I have sinned." (2 Sam. xix. 18, 19, 20.)

6. "But sin is not imputed where there is no law." (Rom. v. 13.) From whence it is apparent that there could be no imputation, or charging of guilt upon any but such as really were guilty. Next it is used about remission: "Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity;" (Psal. xxxii. 2,) or, as the foregoing words have it, "whose transgression is forgiven." Where the non-imputation doth not argue a non-reality of sin, but the reality of God's pardon; for otherwise there would be nothing to forgive, nor yet a real pardon, but only imputative, which according to the sense of

this doctrine, I call imaginary. Again, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them." (2 Cor. v. 19.) Where also non-imputation, being a real discharge for actual trespasses, argues an imputation, by the reason of contraries, to be a real charging of actual guilt. Lastly, it is used in relation to righteousness:—"Was not Abraham justified by works, when he offered Isaac? And by works was faith made perfect, and the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness." (Jam. ii. 21, 22, 23.) By which we must not conceive, as do the dark imputarians of this age, that Abraham's offering personally was not a justifying righteousness, but that God was pleased to account it so: since God never accounts a thing that which it is not. Nor was there any imputation of another's righteousness to Abraham, but, on the contrary, his personal obedience was the ground of that just imputation. And, therefore, that any should be justified from the imputation of another's righteousness, not inherent, or actually possessed by them, is both ridiculous and dangerous. Ridiculous, since it is to say a man is rich to the value of a thousand pounds, whilst he is not really or personally worth a groat, from the imputation of another, who has it all in his possession. Dangerous, because it begets a confident per-

suasion in many people of their being justified whilst in captivity to those lusts, whose reward is condemnation; whence came that usual saying amongst many professors of religion, "that God looks not on them as they are in themselves, but as they are in Christ." Not considering that none can be in Christ, who are not new creatures, which those cannot be reputed, who have not disrobed themselves of their old garments, but are still im-mantled with the corruptions of the old man.

Consequences Irreligious and Irrational.

1. It makes God guilty of what the scriptures say is an abomination, to wit, that he justifieth the wicked.

2. It makes him look upon persons as they are not, or with respect, which is unworthy of his most equal nature.

3. He is hereby at peace with the wicked, (if justified whilst sinners,) who said, "There is no peace to the wicked."

4. It does not only imply communion with them here, in an imperfect state, but so to all eternity. "For whom he justified, them he also glorified." (Rom. viii. 30.) Therefore, whom he justified, whilst sinners, them he also glorified whilst sinners.

5. It only secures from the wages, not the domi-

nion of sin, whereby something that is sinful comes to be justified, and that which defileth, to enter God's kingdom.

6. It renders a man justified and condemned, dead and alive, redeemed, and not redeemed, at the same time, the one by an imputative righteousness—the other a personal unrighteousness.

7. It flatters men while subject to the world's lusts, with a state of justification, and thereby invalidates the very end of Christ's appearance, which was to destroy the works of the devil, and take away the sins of the world: a quite contrary purpose than what the satisfactionists and imputarians of our times have imagined, viz. to satisfy for their sins, and by his imputed righteousness, to represent them holy in him, whilst unholy in themselves. Therefore, since it was to take away sin, and destroy the devil's works, which were not in himself, for that holy one saw no corruption, consequently, in mankind; what can therefore be concluded more evidently true, than that such in whom sin is not taken away, and the devil's works undestroyed, are strangers, (notwithstanding their conceits,) to the very end and purpose of Christ's manifestation.

Conclusion, by way of Caution.

Thus, reader, have I led thee through those three so generally applauded doctrines, whose confutation

I hope, though thou hast run, thou hast read. And now I call the righteous God of heaven to bear me record, that I have herein sought nothing below the defence of his unity, mercy, and purity, against the rude and impetuous assaults of tradition, press, and pulpit, from whence I daily hear what rationally induceth me to believe a conspiracy is held by counterplots, to obstruct the exaltation of truth, and to betray evangelical doctrines to idle traditions. But God will rebuke the winds, and destruction shall attend the enemies of his anointed. Mistake me not, we never have disowned a Father, Word, and Spirit, which are *One*, but men's inventions. For, 1. Their trinity has not so much as a foundation in the Scriptures. 2. Its original was three hundred years after Christianity was in the world. 3. It having cost much blood; in the council of Sirmium, Anno 355, it was decreed, "that henceforth the controversy should not be remembered, because the scriptures of God made no mention thereof." (Socrat. Schol. An. 355. Conc. Sirm. cap. 25, pag. 285.) Why then should it be mentioned now with a Maranatha on all that will not bow to this abstruse opinion? 4. And it doubtless hath occasioned idolatry, witness the Popish images of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. 5. It scandalizeth Turks, Jews, and infidels, and palpably obstructs their reception of the Christian doctrine. Nor is there more to be

said on the behalf of the other two; for I can boldly challenge any person to give me one scripture phrase which does approach the doctrine of satisfaction, (much less the name,) considering to what degree it is stretched; not that we do deny, but really confess, that Jesus Christ, in life, doctrine, and death, fulfilled his Father's will, and offered up a most satisfactory sacrifice, but not to pay God, or help him (as otherwise being unable) to save men; and for a justification by an imputative righteousness, whilst not real, it is merely an imagination, not a reality, and therefore rejected; otherwise confessed and known to be justifying before God, because "there is no abiding in Christ's love without keeping his commandments." I therefore caution thee in love, of whatsoever tribe, or family of religion thou mayest be, not longer to deceive thyself, by the over-fond embraces of human apprehensions for divine mysteries; but rather be informed that God hath bestowed a measure of his grace on thee and me, to show us what is good, that we may obey and do it; which if thou diligently wilt observe, thou shalt be led out of all unrighteousness, and in thy obedience, shalt thou "receive power to become a son of God;" in which happy estate God only can be known by men, and they know themselves to be justified before him, whom experimentally to know, "by Jesus Christ is life eternal."

INNOCENCY WITH HER OPEN FACE,

PRESENTED BY WAY OF

A P O L O G Y

FOR THE BOOK ENTITLED

THE SANDY FOUNDATION SHAKEN,

TO

ALL SERIOUS AND INQUIRING PERSONS, PARTICULARLY
THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

BY WILLIAM PENN, JUN.

“He that uttereth a slander is a fool.”—Prov. x. 18.

“A false balanee is an abomination to the Lord.”—Prov. xl. 1.

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PHILOSOPHY

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INNOCENCY WITH HER OPEN FACE.

RELIGION, although there be nothing of greater concernment, nor which doth more essentially import the immortal happiness of men; yet such is the calamity of the age, that there is not anything they are less solicitous about, or serious in the prosecution of, vainly imagining it to consist in the implicit subscription to, and verbal confession of, men's invented traditions and precepts, whilst they neglect that more orthodox definition of the apostle James, viz. "Pure religion and undefiled, before God, is, to visit the fatherless, and to keep himself unspotted from the world;"* and instead thereof, believe they are performing the best of services, in sacrificing the reputation, liberty, estate, if not life itself, of others, to their own tenacious conceptions; because perhaps, though persons of more virtue, they cannot in all punctilios correspond therewith: how much I have

* Jam. i. 17.

been made an instance must needs be too notorious to any that hold the least intelligence with common fame, that scarce ever took more pains to make the proverb good, by proving herself a liar, than in my concern; who have been most egregiously slandered, reviled, and defamed by pulpit, press, and talk, terming me a blasphemer, seducer, Socinian, denying the divinity of Christ the Saviour, and what not! and all this about my late answer to a disputation with some Presbyterians; but how unjustly, it is the business of this short apology to show, which had not been thus long retarded, if an expectation first to have been brought upon my examination had not required a suspense; and if I shall acquit myself from the injurious imputations of my adversaries, I hope the cry will have an end; to which purpose, let but my innocency have your hearing in her own defence, who, as she never can detract from her intentions in what she really hath done; so will she as easily disprove her enemies, in manifesting their accusations to be fictitious: judge not before you read, neither believe any farther than you see.

1. That which I am credibly informed to be the greatest reason for my imprisonment, and that noise of blasphemy, which hath pierced so many ears of late, is, my denying the divinity of Christ, and divesting him of his eternal Godhead, which

most busily hath been suggested as well to those in authority, as maliciously insinuated amongst the people; wherefore let me beseech you to be impartial and considerate, in the perusal of my vindication, which being in the fear of the Almighty God, and the simplicity of scripture dialect, presented to you, I hope my innocency will appear beyond a scruple. The Proverbs, which as most agree, intend Christ, the Saviour, speak in this manner: "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice; I (wisdom) lead in the midst of the paths of judgment: I was set up from everlasting;"* to which Paul's words allude, "Unto them which are called (we preach) Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God;" † from whence I conclude Christ the Saviour to be God; for otherwise God would not be himself; since if Christ be distinct from God, and yet God's power and wisdom, God would be without his own power and wisdom; but inasmuch as it is impossible God's power and wisdom should be distinct or divided from himself, it reasonably follows, that Christ, who is that power and wisdom, is not distinct from God, but entirely that very same God.

Next, the prophets, David and Isaiah, speak thus: "The Lord is my light and my salvation. I will give thee for a light unto the Gentiles;" and

* Prov. viii. 15, 20, 23. † 1 Cor. i. 24.

speaking to the church, "For the Lord shall be thine everlasting light;"* to which the evangelist adds, concerning Christ, "that was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. God is light, and in him is no darkness at all;" † from whence I assert the unity of God and Christ, because though nominally distinguished, yet essentially the same divine light; for if Christ be that light, and that light be God, then is Christ God; or if God be that light, and that light be Christ, then is God Christ. Again, "And the city had no need of the sun, for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb (Christ) is the light thereof;" ‡ by which the Oneness of the nature of these lights plainly appears; for since God is not God without his own glory, and that his glory lightens, (which it could never do if it were not light) and that the Lamb, or Christ, is that very same light, what can follow, but that Christ the light, and God the light, are One pure and eternal light.

Next, from the word Saviour, it is manifest, "I, even I am the Lord, and beside me there is no Saviour: and thou shalt know no God but me, for there is no Saviour besides me.—And Mary said, My spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour:" and the Samaritans said unto the woman, "Now we

* Psal. xxvii. 1. Isa. xlix. 6; and chap. lx. 2.

† John i. 9. 1 John i. 5.

‡ Rev. xxi. 23.

know that this is indeed the Christ the Saviour of the world. According to his grace made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Simon Peter to them that have obtained like precious faith with us, through the righteousness of God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ. For therefore we suffer reproach, because we trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men: to the only wise God our Saviour be glory,"* &c.

From which, I conclude Christ to be God; for if none can save, or be styled properly a Saviour but God, and yet that Christ is said to save, and properly called a Saviour, it must needs follow, that Christ the Saviour is God.

Lastly, "In the beginning was the (*λογος*), Word, (which the Greeks sometimes understood for wisdom and divine reason) and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth. He is before all things, and by him all things consist. Upholding all things by the word of his power,"† &c. Wherefore I am still confirmed in the belief of

* Isa. xliii. xi. 11. Hos. xiii. 4. Luke i. 47. John iv. 42. 2 Tim. i. 9, 10. 2 Pet. i. 1. 1 Tim. iv. 10. Jude v. 25.

† John i. 1—3. Col. i. 16, 17. Heb. i. 3, 10. John i. 14.

Christ the Saviour's divinity; for he that made all things, and by whom they consist and are upheld, because before all things; he was not made nor upheld by another, and consequently is God; now that this *λογος*, or Word that was made flesh, or Christ, the light, power and wisdom of God, and Saviour of men, hath made all things, and is he by whom they only consist and are upheld, because he was before them, is most evident, from the recited passages of scripture; therefore he was not made, nor is he upheld by any other power than his own, and consequently is truly God. In short, this conclusive argument for the proof of Christ the Saviour's being God, should certainly persuade all sober persons of my innocency, and my adversaries' malice. He that is the "everlasting wisdom, the divine power, the true light, the only Saviour, the creating Word of all things, (whether visible or invisible) and their upholder by his own power, is without contradiction God;" but all these qualifications and divine properties are, by the concurrent testimonies of scripture, ascribed to the Lord Jesus Christ; therefore, without a scruple, I call and believe him really to be the mighty God. And for more ample satisfaction, let but my reply to J. Clapham* be perused, in which Christ's divinity and eternity are very fully asserted.

* See Guide Mistaken.

Judge then, impartial readers, (to whom I appeal in this concern) whether my Christian reputation hath not been unworthily traduced; and that those several persons who have been posting out their books against me [whilst a close prisoner] have not been beating the air, and fighting with their own shadows, in supposing what I never thought, much less writ of, to be the intention of my book; and then as furiously have fastened on me their own conceits, expecting I should feel the smart of every blow, who thus far am no ways interested in their heat.

As for my being a Socinian, I must confess I have read of one Socinus, of (what they call) a noble family in Sene, in Italy, who about the year 1574, being a young man, voluntarily did abandon the glories, pleasures and honours of the great duke of Tuscany's court at Florence, [that noted place for all worldly delicacies] and became a perpetual exile for his conscience; whose parts, wisdom, gravity and just behaviour, made him the most famous with the Polonian and Transylvanian churches: but I was never baptized into his name, and therefore deny that reproachful epithet; and if in any thing I acknowledge the verity of his doctrine, it is for the truth's sake, of which, in many things, he had a clearer prospect than most of his contemporaries; but not therefore a Socinian, any more than a son

of the English church, whilst esteemed a Quaker, because I justify many of her principles, since the reformation, against the Roman church.

II. As for the business of satisfaction, I am prevented by a person whose reputation is generally great amongst the Protestants of these nations; for since the doctrine against which I mostly levelled my arguments, was, 'The impossibility of God's forgiving sin upon repentance, without Christ's paying his justice, by suffering infinite vengeance and eternal death for sins past, present and to come,' he plainly in his late discourse about Christ's sufferings, against Crellius,* acknowledges me no less, by granting, upon a new state of the controversy, 'both the possibility of God's pardoning sins, as debts, without such a rigid satisfaction, and the impossibility of Christ's so suffering for the world;' reflecting closely upon those persons, as 'giving so just an occasion to the church's adversaries to think they triumph over her faith, whilst it is only over their mistakes, who argue with more zeal than judgment:' nay, one of the main ends which first induced me to that discourse, I find thus delivered by him, namely, If they did believe Christ came into the world to reform it, 'that the wrath of God is now revealed from heaven against all unrighteous-

* Stillingfleet contra Crell. pag. 269, 270, 271, 273, 274.

ness; that his love, which is shown to the world, is to deliver them from the hand of their enemies, that they might serve him in righteousness and holiness all the days of their lives; they could never imagine that salvation is entailed by the gospel upon a mighty confidence, or vehement persuasion of what Christ hath done and suffered for them:’* thus doth he confess, upon my hypothesis or proposition, what I mainly contend for: and however positively I may reject or deny my adversaries’ unscriptural and imaginary satisfaction, let all know this, that I pretend to know no other name by which remission, atonement and salvation can be obtained, but Jesus Christ the Saviour, who is the power and wisdom of God, what apprehensions soever people may have entertained concerning me.

III. As for justification by an imputed righteousness, I still say, that whosoever believes in Christ shall have remission and justification: but then it must be such a faith as can no more live without works,† than a body without a spirit; wherefore I conclude, that true faith comprehends evangelical obedience; and here the same Dr. Stillingfleet‡ comes in to my relief, (though it is not wanting) by a plain assertion of the necessity of obedience, viz. ‘Such who make no other condition

* Stillingfleet contra Crell. p. 160.

† Jam. ii. 26.

‡ Stillingfleet contra Crell. p. 164, 165, 166.

of the gospel but believing, ought to have a care to keep their hearts sounder than their heads;’ thereby intimating the grand imperfection and danger of such a notion: and therefore (God Almighty bears me record) my design was nothing less, or more, than to wrest those beloved and sin-pleasing principles out of the hands, heads, and hearts of people, that by the fond persuasion of being justified from the personal righteousness of another, without relation to their own obedience, they might not sin on upon trust, till the arrest of eternal vengeance should irrecoverably overtake them; that all might be induced to an earnest pursuit after holiness, by a circumspect observance to God’s Holy Spirit, without which none shall ever see the Lord. And (to shut up my apology for religious matters) that all may see the simplicity, scripture doctrine, and phrase of my faith, in the most important matters of eternal life, I shall here subjoin a short confession.

I sincerely own, and unfeignedly believe (by virtue of the sound knowledge and experience received from the gift of that holy unction, and divine grace inspired from on high) in one holy, just, merciful, almighty and eternal God, who is the Father of all things; that appeared to the holy patriarchs and prophets of old, at sundry times, and in divers manners;* and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the everlasting

* 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6. Heb. i. 1. 1 Cor. viii. 6.

wisdom, divine power, true light, only Saviour and preserver of all, the same one, holy, just, merciful, almighty and eternal God, who in the fulness of time took, and was manifested in the flesh, at which time he preached (and his disciples after him) the everlasting gospel of repentance, and promise of remission of sins and eternal life, to all that heard and obeyed; who said, he that is with you (in the flesh) shall be in you, (by the spirit) and though he left them (as to the flesh) yet not comfortless, for he would come to them again (in the spirit:) “for a little while, and they should not see him (as to the flesh;) again, a little while and they should see him (in the spirit;”) for the Lord (Jesus Christ) is that spirit, a manifestation whereof is given to every one to profit withal; In which Holy Spirit I believe, as the same almighty and eternal God, who as in those times he ended all shadows, and became the infallible guide to them that walked therein, by which they were adopted heirs and co-heirs of glory:* so am I a living witness, that the same holy, just, merciful, almighty and eternal God, is now, as then, (after this tedious night of idolatry, superstition, and human inventions, that hath overspread the world) gloriously manifested to discover and save

*John i. 14. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Mat. iv. 17. Luke xxiv. 47. John xiv. 17, 18. Chap. xvi. 16. 2 Cor. iii. 17. 1 Cor. i. 7. Rom. viii. 14, 17.

from all iniquity, and to conduct unto the holy land of pure and endless peace; in a word, to tabernacle in men: and I also firmly believe, that without repenting and forsaking of past sins, and walking in obedience to this heavenly voice, which would guide into all truth, and establish there, remission and eternal life can never be obtained; but unto them that fear his name, and keep his commandments, they, and they only shall have right unto the tree of life;* for whose name's sake I have been made willing to relinquish and forsake all the vain fashions, enticing pleasures, alluring honours, and glittering glories of this transitory world,† and readily to accept the portion of a fool, from this deriding generation, and become a man of sorrow, and a perpetual reproach to my familiars; yea, and with the greatest cheerfulness can obsignate and confirm, (with no less seal, than the loss of whatsoever this doting world accounts dear) this faithful confession; having my eye fixed upon a more enduring substance and lasting inheritance;‡ and being infallibly assured, that when time shall be no more, I shall (if faithful hereunto) possess the mansions of eternal life, and be received into his everlasting habitation of rest and glory.

* Rev. xxi. 3. Prov. xxviii. 13. Luke xiv. 33. Rev. xxi. 27. Chap. xxii. 14.

† Mat. x. 37, 38, 39.

‡ 1 Pet. iv. 14.

IV. Lastly, it may not be unreasonable to observe, that however industrious some (and those dissenters too) have been to represent me as a person disturbing the civil peace, I have not violated any truly fundamental law which relates to external property and good behaviour, and not to religious apprehensions; it being the constant principle of myself and friends, to maintain good works, and keep our consciences void of offence, paying active or passive obedience, suitable to the meek example of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nor would I have any ignorant how forward I was by messages, letters, and visits, to have determined this debate in a sober and select assembly, notwithstanding the rude entertainment we had met with before; but, contrary to their own appointments, our adversaries failed us, which necessitated me to that defence: and finding the truth so pressed with slander, I cannot but say I saw my just call to her relief: but, alas! how have these two or three extemporary sheets been tost, tumbled, and torn on all hands, yea, aggravated to a monstrous design, even the subversion of the Christian religion, than which there could be nothing more repugnant to my principle and purpose; wherefore how very intemperate as well as unjust have all my adversaries been in their revilings, slanders, and defamations! using the most opprobrious terms of "Seducer, heretic, blasphemer,

deceiver, Socinian, Pelagian, Simon Magus, impiously robbing Christ of his divinity, for whom the vengeance of the great day is reserved,"* &c. Nor have these things been whispered, but, in one book and pulpit after another, have more or less been thundered out against me, as if some bull had lately been arrived from Rome; and all this acted under the foul pretence of zeal and love to Jesus Christ, whose meek and gentle example always taught it for a principal mark of true Christianity, to suffer the most outrageous injuries, but never to return any; nay, if my adversaries would but be just and constant to themselves, how can they offer to conspire my destruction upon a religious ground, who either are themselves under a present limitation, or have been formerly by the Papists? tell me, I pray, did Luther, that grand reformer, whom you so much reverence, justly demand from the emperor at the diet of Worms (where he was summoned to appear) that none should sit judge upon his doctrines but the scripture; and in case they should be cast, that no other sentence should be passed upon him, than what Gamaliel offered to the Jewish council, "If it were not of God, it would not stand;" † and if you will not censure him who first of all arraigned the

* See T. Vincent's late railing piece against the Quakers, also T. Danson's and Dr. Owen's. Mat. v. 39, 40.

† Coun. Trent, p. 14.

Christian world (so called) at the bar of his private judgment, (that had so many hundred years soundly slept without so much as giving one considerable shrug or turn during that tedious winter-night of dark apostacy) but justify his proceedings, can you so furiously assault others? But, above all, you, who refuse conformity to others, and that have been writing these eight years for liberty of conscience? and take it at this very season by an indulgent connivance; what pregnant testimonies do you give of your unwillingness to grant that to others you so earnestly beg for yourselves? Doth it not discover your injustice, and plainly express that only want of power hinders you to act? But of all Protestants in general I demand, do you believe that persecution to be Christian in yourselves, that you condemned for anti-christian in the Papists? You judged it a weakness in their religion, and is it a cogent argument in yours? Nay, is it not the readiest way to enhance and propagate the reputation of what you would depress? If you were displeas'd at their assuming an infallibility, will you believe it impossible in yourselves to err? Have Whitaker, Reynolds, Laud, Owen, Baxter, Stillingfleet, Poole, &c., disarmed the Romanists of these inhuman weapons, that you might employ them against your inoffensive countrymen? Let the example and holy precepts of Christ dissuade you, who came not to destroy,

but save; and soberly reflect upon his equal law of doing as you would be done unto. Remember I have not dethroned a divinity, subverted faith, made void obedience, nor frustrated the hope of an eternal recompense; much less have I injured your persons, or in any thing deviated from that *θεος ενδετος* and *συντηρησις*, or holy principle so much insisted on by philosophers and lawyers as the original of good laws, and life: no, your own consciences shall advocate on my behalf. Let it suffice then, that we who are nicknamed Quakers have, under every revolution of power and religion, been the most reviled, contemned and persecuted, as if God indeed “had set us forth in these last days as a spectacle to the world, to angels and to men;” * and treated as if, by being what we are, our common right and interest in human societies were forfeited; neither accept that for a true measure of our life and doctrines, which hath been taken by the ill-will or ignorance of others; but rather make an impartial examination, that what you judge may be from what you know, and not from what you hear at second-hand; and then we shall as little question your just opinion of our innocency, as we have too much been made sensible of the sad effects that follow an ignorant and unadvised zeal: for so monstrously fond are some of

* 1 Cor. iv. 9.

their persuasions, and doting on the patrons of them, that they seldom have discretion, much less religious desires, to consider how true or false another religion is, or what may be the consequence of its toleration; but with a fury, not inferior to their ignorance, cry Crucify, crucify; and pharisee-like, out of pretence of honour and service done to God Almighty, and the memory of his holy prophets, stick not to persecute his beloved Son, and righteous servants; so cruel, blind, and obstinate is persecution; be therefore advised in the words of that meek example Jesus Christ; call not for fire any more; let the tares grow with the wheat; neither employ that sword any more, which was commanded to be sheathed so many hundred years ago; suppose we were enemies to the true religion; but have a care you are not upon one of Saul's errands to Damascus, and helping the mighty against God and his anointed; and rather choose by fair and moderate debates (not penalties ratified by imperial decrees) to determine religious differences; so will you at least obtain tranquillity, which may be called a civil unity. But if you are resolved severity shall take its course, in this our case can never change, nor happiness abate; for no human edict can possibly deprive us of his glorious presence, who is able to make the dismalest prisons so many receptacles of pleasure, and whose heavenly fellowship doth un-

speakably replenish our solitary souls with divine consolation; by whose holy, meek, and harmless spirit I have been taught most freely to forgive, and not less earnestly to solicit the temporal and eternal good of all my adversaries. Farewell.

WILLIAM PENN, JUN.

A QUESTIONARY POSTSCRIPT.

Where doth the scripture say, that Christ suffered an eternal death, and infinite vengeance? For did not Christ rise the third day? And is not infinite vengeance and eternal death without end? And doth not God say he was well-pleased with his Son before his death? And was not his offering acceptable? And did not the apostle say, that the saints were accepted in Christ that was God's beloved? And this was after Christ died and rose; and God was said to be well-pleased with his Son, both before he suffered, in his suffering, and after he suffered, though displeased with those that caused him to suffer.

WILLIAM PENN'S LETTER

TO HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN,

On his departure for America, after he had obtained a Charter for the Province of Pennsylvania from Charles the Second of England.

“*My dear Wife and Children:—*My love, which neither sea, nor land, nor death itself, can extinguish or lessen toward you, most endearedly visits you with eternal embraces, and will abide with you for ever; and may the God of my life watch over you and bless you, and do you good in this world and for ever!—Some things are upon my spirit to leave with you in your respective capacities, as I am to one a husband, and to the rest a father, if I should never see you more in this world.

“My dear wife! remember thou wast the love of my youth, and much the joy of my life; the most beloved, as well as the most worthy of all my earthly comforts: and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet were many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making; and God's image in us both was the first thing, and the

most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take my counsel into thy bosom, and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest.

“First: Let the fear of the Lord, and a zeal and love to his glory, dwell richly in thy heart; and thou wilt watch for good over thyself and thy dear children and family, that no rude, light, or bad thing be committed: else God will be offended, and he will repent himself of the good he intends thee and thine.

“Secondly: Be diligent in meetings for worship and business; stir up thyself and others therein; it is thy duty and place: and let meetings be kept once a day in the family to wait upon the Lord, who has given us much time for ourselves: and, my dearest, to make thy family matters easy to thee, divide thy time, and be regular: it is easy and sweet: thy retirement will afford thee to do it; as in the morning to view the business of the house, and fix it as thou desirest, seeing all be in order: that by thy counsel all may move, and to thee render an account every evening. The time for work, for walking, for meals, may be certain, at least as near as may be: and grieve not thyself with careless servants; they will disorder thee; rather pay them, and let them go, if they will not be better by ad-

monition: this is best to avoid many words, which I know wound the soul and offend the Lord.

“Thirdly: Cast up thy income, and see what it daily amounts to: by which thou mayest be sure to have it in thy sight and power to keep within compass: and I beseech thee to live low and sparingly, till my debts are paid; and then enlarge as thou seest it convenient. Remember thy mother’s example, when thy father’s public-spiritedness had worsted his estate, (which is my case.) I know thou lovest plain things, and art averse to the pomps of the world—a nobility natural to thee. I write, not as doubtful, but to quicken thee, for my sake, to be more vigilant herein; knowing that God will bless thy care, and thy poor children and thee for it. My mind is wrapt up in a saying of thy father’s, ‘I desire not riches, but to owe nothing;’ and truly that is wealth, and more than enough to live is a snare attended with many sorrows. I need not bid thee be humble, for thou art so; nor meek and patient, for it is much of thy natural disposition: but I pray thee be oft in retirement with the Lord, and guard against encroaching friendships. Keep them at arms’-end; for it is giving away our power—ay, and self too, into the possession of another; and that which might seem engaging in the beginning, may prove a yoke and burden too hard and heavy in the end. Wherefore keep dominion over thyself, and

let thy children, good meetings, and Friends, be the pleasure of thy life.

“Fourthly: And now, my dearest, let me recommend to thy care my dear children; abundantly beloved of me, as the Lord’s blessings, and the sweet pledges of our mutual and endeared affection. Above all things, endeavour to breed them up in the love of virtue, and that holy, plain way of it which we have lived in, that the world in no part of it get into my family. I had rather they were homely than finely bred as to outward behaviour; yet I love sweetness, mixed with gravity, and cheerfulness tempered with sobriety. Religion in the heart leads into this true civility, teaching men and women to be mild and courteous in their behaviour—an accomplishment worthy indeed of praise.

“Fifthly: Next breed them up in a love one of another: tell them it is the charge I left behind me; and that it is the way to have the love and blessing of God upon them; also what his portion is, who hates, or calls his brother fool. Sometimes separate them, but not long; and allow them to send and give each other small things to endear one another with. Once more I say, tell them it was my counsel they should be tender and affectionate one to another. For their learning be liberal. Spare no cost; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved: but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent

with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind, but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses or ships, measuring, surveying, dialing, navigation; but agriculture is especially in my eye: let my children be husbandmen and housewives; it is industrious, healthy, honest, and of good example; like Abraham and the holy ancients, who pleased God, and obtained a good report. This leads to consider the works of God and nature, of things that are good, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. It is commendable in the princes of Germany and the nobles of that empire that they have all their children instructed in some useful occupation. Rather keep an ingenious person in the house to teach them than send them to schools, too many evil impressions being commonly received there. Be sure to observe their genius, and do not cross it as to learning: let them not dwell too long on one thing: but let their change be agreeable, and all their diversions have some little bodily labour in them. When grown big, have most care for them; for then there are more snares both within and without. When marriageable, see that they have worthy persons in their eye, of good life, and good fame for piety and understanding. I need no

wealth, but sufficiency; and be sure their love be dear, fervent, and mutual, that it may be happy for them. I choose not they should be married to earthly, covetous kindred; and of cities and towns of concourse beware; the world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and got wealth there: a country life and estate I like best for my children. I prefer a decent mansion, of a hundred pounds per annum, before ten thousand pounds in London, or such-like place, in a way of trade. In fine, my dear, endeavour to breed them dutiful to the Lord, and his blessed light, truth, and grace in their hearts, who is their Creator, and his fear will grow up with them. Teach a child (says the wise man) the way thou wilt have him to walk, and when he is old he will not forget it. Next, obedience to thee, their dear mother; and that not for wrath, but for conscience' sake; liberal to the poor, pitiful to the miserable, humble and kind to all; and may my God make thee a blessing, and give thee comfort in our dear children; and, in age, gather thee to the joy and blessedness of the just (where no death shall separate us) for ever!

“And now, my dear children, that are the gifts and mercies of the God of your tender father, hear my counsel, and lay it up in your hearts; love it more than treasure, and follow it, and you shall be blessed here, and happy hereafter.

“In the first place, remember your Creator in the days of your youth. It was the glory of Israel, in the second of Jeremiah: and how did God bless Josiah, because he feared him in his youth! and so he did Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. O, my dear children, remember, and fear and serve Him who made you, and gave you to me and your dear mother; that you may live to him and glorify him in your generations!

“To do this, in your youthful days seek after the Lord, that you may find him; remembering his great love in creating you; that you are not beasts, plants, or stones, but that he has kept you, and given you his grace within, and substance without, and provided plentifully for you. This remember in your youth, that you may be kept from the evil of the world: for in age it will be harder to overcome the temptations of it.

“Wherefore, my dear children, eschew the appearance of evil, and love and cleave to that in your hearts which shows you evil from good, and tells you when you do amiss, and reproves you for it. It is the light of Christ that he has given you for your salvation. If you do this, and follow my counsel, God will bless you in this world, and give you an inheritance in that which shall never have an end. For the light of Jesus is of a purifying nature; it seasons those who love it and take heed to

it; and never leaves such, till it has brought them to the city of God, that has foundations. Oh that ye may be seasoned with the gracious nature of it! hide it in your hearts, and flee, my dear children, from all youthful lusts; the vain sports, pastimes, and pleasures of the world; redeeming the time, because the days are evil!—You are now beginning to live! What would some give for your time. Oh I could have lived better, were I, as you, in the flower of youth.—Therefore love and fear the Lord, keep close to meetings, and delight to wait on the Lord God of your father and mother, among his despised people, as we have done; and count it your honour to be members of that society, and heirs of that living fellowship which is enjoyed among them, for the experience of which your father's soul blesseth the Lord for ever.

“Next, be obedient to your dear mother, a woman whose virtue and good name is an honour to you; for she hath been exceeded by none in her time for her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue, and good understanding—qualities not usual among women of her worldly condition and quality. Therefore honour and obey her, my dear children, as your mother and your father's love and delight; nay, love her too, for she loved your father with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors; and though she be of a delicate constitution

and noble spirit, yet she descended to the utmost tenderness and care for you, performing the pain-fullest acts of service to you in your infancy, as a mother and a nurse too. I charge you, before the Lord, honour and obey, love and cherish your dear mother.

“Next: betake yourselves to some honest, industrious course of life, and that not of sordid covetousness, but for example and to avoid idleness. And if you change your condition and marry, choose, with the knowledge and consent of your mother, if living, or of guardians, or those that have the charge of you. Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear of the Lord, and a sweet and amiable disposition, such as you can love above all this world, and that may make your habitations pleasant and desirable to you.

“And being married, be tender, affectionate, patient, and meek. Live in the fear of the Lord, and he will bless you and your offspring. Be sure to live within compass; borrow not, neither be beholden to any. Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others; for that exceeds the due bounds of friendship, neither will a true friend expect it. Small matters I heed not.

“Let your industry and parsimony go no further than for a sufficiency for life, and to make a provision for your children, and that in moderation, if

the Lord gives you any. I charge you to help the poor and needy; let the Lord have a voluntary share of your income for the good of the poor, both in our society and others; for we are all his creatures; remembering that 'he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord.'

"Know well your in-comings, and your out-goings may be better regulated. Love not money nor the world; use them only, and they will serve you; but if you love them you serve them, which will debase your spirits as well as offend the Lord.

"Pity the distressed, and hold out a hand to help them; it may be your case; and as you mete to others God will mete to you again.

"Be humble and gentle in your conversation; of few words, I charge you; but always pertinent when you speak, hearing out before you attempt to answer, but then speaking as if you would persuade, not impose.

"Affront none, neither revenge the affronts that are done to you; but forgive, and you shall be forgiven of your heavenly Father.

"In making friends, consider well first; and when you are fixed be true, not wavering by reports nor deserting in affliction, for that becomes not the good and virtuous.

"Watch against anger, neither speak nor act in

it; for, like drunkenness, it makes a man a beast, and throws people into desperate inconveniences.

“Avoid flatterers, for they are thieves in disguise, their praise is costly; designing to get by those they bespeak; they are the worst of creatures; they lie to flatter, and flatter to cheat; and, which is worse, if you believe them you cheat yourselves most dangerously. But the virtuous, though poor, love, cherish, and prefer. Remember David, who, asking the Lord, ‘Who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell upon thy holy hill? answers, ‘He that walketh uprightly, worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart; in whose eye the vile person is contemned, but he honoureth them who fear the Lord.’

“Next, my children, be temperate in all things; in your diet, for that is physic by prevention; it keeps, nay, it makes people healthy, and their generation sound. This is exclusive of the spiritual advantage it brings. Be also plain in your apparel; keep out that lust which reigns too much over some; let your virtues be your ornament, remembering life is more than food, and the body than raiment. Let your furniture be simple and cheap. Avoid pride, avarice, and luxury. Read my ‘No Cross no Crown.’ There is instruction. Make your conversation with the most eminent for wisdom and piety, and shun all wicked men as you hope for the bless-

ing of God and the comfort of your father's living and dying prayers. Be sure you speak no evil of any—no, not of the meanest; much less of your superiors, as magistrates, guardians, tutors, teachers, and elders in Christ.

“Be no busybodies; meddle not with other folk's matters, but when in conscience and duty prest; for it procures trouble, and is ill manners, and very unseemly to wise men.

“In your families, remember Abraham, Moses and Joshua, their integrity to the Lord; and do as you have them for your examples.

“Let the fear and service of the living God be encouraged in your houses, and that plainness, sobriety, and moderation in all things as becometh God's chosen people; and as I advise you, my beloved children, do you counsel yours, if God should give you any. Yea, I counsel and command them as my posterity, that they love and serve the Lord God with an upright heart, that he may bless you and yours from generation to generation.

“And as for you, who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennsylvania and my parts of East Jersey, especially the first, I do charge you before the Lord God and his holy angels, that you be lowly, diligent, and tender, fearing God, loving the people, and hating covetousness. Let justice have its impartial course, and the law free passage.

Though to your loss, protect no man against it; for you are not above the law, but the law above you. Live, therefore, the lives yourselves you would have the people live, and then you have right and boldness to punish the transgressor. Keep upon the square, for God sees you: therefore do your duty, and be sure you see with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears. Entertain no lurches, cherish no informers for gain or revenge; use no tricks; fly to no devices to support or cover injustice; but let your hearts be upright before the Lord, trusting in him above the contrivances of men, and none shall be able to hurt or supplant.

“Oh! the Lord is a strong God, and he can do whatsoever he pleases; and though men consider it not, it is the Lord that rules and overrules in the kingdoms of men, and he builds up and pulls down. I, your father, am the man that can say, ‘He that trusts in the Lord shall not be confounded. But God, in due time, will make his enemies be at peace with him.’

“If you thus behave yourselves, and so become a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well, God, my God, will be with you in wisdom and a sound mind, and make you blessed instruments in his hand for the settlement of some of those desolate parts of the world, which my soul desires above all worldly honours and riches, both for you that go

and you that stay; you that govern and you that are governed; that in the end you may be gathered with me to the rest of God.

“Finally, my children, love one another with a true, endeared love, and your dear relations on both sides, and take care to preserve tender affection in your children to each other, often marrying within themselves, so as it be without the bounds forbidden in God’s laws, that so they may not, like the forgetting, unnatural world, grow out of kindred and as cold as strangers; but, as becomes a truly natural and Christian stock, you, and yours after you, may live in the pure and fervent love of God towards one another, as becometh brethren in the spiritual and natural relation.

“So, my God, that hath blessed me with his abundant mercies, both of this and the other and better life, be with you all, guide you by his counsel, bless you, and bring you to his eternal glory! that you may shine, my dear children, in the firmament of God’s power with the blessed spirits of the just—that celestial family—praising and admiring him, the God and Father of it, for ever. For there is no God like unto him; the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of the Prophets, the Apostles and Martyrs of Jesus, in whom I live for ever.

“So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and children! Yours as God pleaseth, in that which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear away, but remains for ever,

WILLIAM PENN.

“*Worminghurst, 4th of 6th Mo. 1682.*”

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